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SINDH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA

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JOURNAL OF THE SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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"HIS EXCELLENCY'S VISIT."

His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow, Kt., K.C.I.E., etc. conferred a signal honour on the Sind Historical Society in accepting the Society's invitation to an "At Home" organised in his honour on 8th May, 1944.

Their Excellencies, Sir Hugh and Lady Dow were received at the gates of the D. J. Sind College, Faculty of Arts, by Dr. H. M. Gurbaxani, the President of the Society. The President then introduced the Members of the Council of Management—the hosts—to His Excellency and Lady Dow, after which the party proceeded to the well arranged and finely decorated Professors Common Room of the Faculty where the members of the Sind Historical Society were anxiously awaiting their arrival.

Sir Hugh and Lady Dow appeared to be in a particularly happy mood as the day happened to be His Excellency's birthday. They mixed with the members quite informally.

Tea over, the President of the Society made a speech briefly surveying the career of the Society since its inception ten years ago. He drew particular attention to the very limited co-operation, if any, received by the Society from the public. The membership of the Society had dwindled a great bit since the first year inspite of the best efforts of the active members of the Society to interest others to join the Society. He was, however, thankful to the Sind Government for their annual, though non-recurrent, grant and in particular to His Excellency for the personal interest taken by him in the sanctioning of the Government grant and for his handsome personal donation to the Society, without which help the Society could not get on. The President also pointed attention to the useful work done by the Society, though the results had not fully answered the high hopes of the sponsers. The learned papers read every month and printed in the Society's Journal and the Society's Library,—small, but containing rare volumes relating to the History of the Province—offered much useful material to the Research Scholar. In the end the President hoped that with the help of His Excellency and the members, the Society would grow from strength to strength and serve its purpose to the fullest extent.

His Excellency followed up the President's speech by some personal observations. He spoke of the work of the Society in highly laudatory terms. He was of the opinion that there was nothing to feel discouraged about. The general apathy of the people towards institutions like the Historical Society, His Excellency pointed out, was as much due to the backwardness of the Province as to the national and international issues looming large in men's minds at present. His Excellency assured the

members that the Society was bound to make its mark in the near future when the people settled down. Men can not ignore History permanently, remarked His Excellency. He however suggested that since democracy was coming into this country the endeavours of research scholars should profitably be directed to the study of the life of the common man in the past rather than to the chronicling of facts pertaining to princes and crowned heads. His Excellency was very happy to find that through the Journal and the Library the Society had procured for the Research scholar the necessary materials for his enterprise. His Excellency also dwelt on his "shyness" in visiting the Society of which he was the patron, more often than he had done so far. This visit, His Excellency pointed out, had broken the ice and he was sure to come to the Society's meetings more frequently in the future.

Speeches over, the President conducted Their Excellencies to the Rooms of the Society on the ground-floor. They evinced a keen interest in the collection of finds from some sites in the Khirthar Range, made by Mr. H. T. Lambrick.

The Library of the Society however drew His Excellency's particular attention. He was happy to find that the Society had been able to procure most of the important works on Sind History and that attempts were being made to get handy typed volumes of those books that could not otherwise be had for the Library. His Excellency assured the President that he would communicate with the Government of India so that the Central Government's publications be supplied to the Society free of cost.

Having thus spent more than two lively hours with the members of the Sind Historical Society Their Excellencies took leave amid cheers.

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ALOR, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF SINDH.

BY SOBHRAJ NIRMALDAS.

(Read before the Sind Historical Society on 21st October, 1943).

Alor was one of the most important cities of the Hindu kingdom of Sindh situated on the Sindhu (Indus), the river par excellence from which India has derived its name. For many ages it was the metropolis of the rich and powerful kingdom of Upper Sindh, and according to some historians it was the capital of the powerful monarch and the most opulent prince in India called Mousikanos, who had proudly abstained from sending presents and envoys to the Macedonian conqueror Alexander when the latter invaded India about a thousand years before the moslem conquest of our Province in 712 A.D. The then inhabitants of this country lived in peace and prosperity, their word was bond, they had no system of civil law, they zealously studied the science of medicine and were reputed to attain the age of a hundred and thirty years, as a result of temperance in diet and wholesome environments. The science of medicine was in great vogue in those days, and Indians ranked high in the realm of healing art. It is recorded that Alexander was greatly impressed by the success of Indian physicians curing snake-bites to find a remedy for which had "baffled the skill of all the Greek physicians." It may be pointed out that OS or US is the Greek termination for proper names of which we have examples in the well-known historical names, Poros and Sandrakottos for Paura, Pauravæ or according to Bohlen Paurusha (meaning heroic) and Chandra Gupta respectively. The former was the most powerful king in the Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. In those days Brahmanism wielded great influence. It is recorded that Mousikanos submitted to Alexander without resistance and was allowed to retain his sovereignty which stretched to the seaboard, but Brahmins prevailed on him to revolt during Alexander's absence, and he was captured by Peithon and executed by Alexander's orders. The great influence of Brahmins is testified to by Megasthenes, according to whom in his day, *i.e.* about the year 300 B.C. they formed the most important sect, and had distinctly the upper hand, whilst the Buddhist clergy called Sramans ranked next to the Brahmans among the less-honoured sects.

The country of Mousikanos was highly praised by the Macedonian reporter Onesikritos for its fertility, vitrues of its people, and the efficient government, under which they lived. The above mentioned name Mousikanos has been variously interpreted by some European writers. McCrindle has assumed it to be a territorial title after the term "Musicani" applied by Curtius to the then residents of Musikano's territory. Lassen takes it to represent the Sanskrit *Mushika* meaning a mouse or a thief, and Saint Martin connects it with the tribe of Moghsis (Magsis) which he wrote "forms the most numerous part of the population of Katchh Gandava, a region bordering on the territories of the ancient Musikani." These interpretations however seem far-fetched. As already stated "OS" is a Greek termination and the remainder Mosikan appears to be a corrupted

form of the Sanskrit expression Musakaran (Musa, a mouse, and Karan, ear) the ear of the mouse in other words, sharp of ear, the organ of hearing. Aesops' Fables and Panchtantra abound in symbolic stories of animals such as the lion, the fox, the mouse, and the jackal etc., and the mouse—the Aryan traditional conveyance of Ganesh the ancient legendary God of wisdom—is credited with sharp intellect. Thus Mousikan represents a high degree of wisdom, and the custom of proper names taking, *inter alia*, after the names of birds and other animals has persisted to this day since remote times; we have some examples in names like Tobaram or Totomal, Chatunmal, Shersingh, Hathiram or Hathisingh, Popatlal, Makorokhan, Ludhromal, Tindinmal and Bholomal.

Alor is variously written by some geographers as Alrur, Alruz, Alrud, Aldaur, and Aldur; but the name that has persisted to this day is Alor or Aror. The latter appears to be the correct name after the sub-caste Aror a branch of the Kshatriya by whom the town was largely populated in the past. This view is supported by the narration about Aroras contained in the book entitled *Pimjab Castes* published in 1916 wherein it is stated that as Multan and Lahore Khatris are Khatris of Multan and Lahore, so the Aroras are Khatris of Arora, the ancient capital of Sindh, now represented by the modern town of Rohri. In ancient times, the Indus on Alor side was known as Mehran, and in the days of the Rai dynasty whose headquarters were at Alor, the present Bahawalpur State formed a satrapy of the kingdom of Alor, and for a long period, according to Burnes who wrote a chronicle of his travels in 1835, the kingdom of Alor extended from the ocean to Kashmir, and from Quandhar to Kanauj, and the harbour of Dieu in Kathiawar was one of its sea ports. The Rai dynasty ruled from Kashmir and Kanauj to Makran and the port of Debal on "the sea of Aumman" (*i.e.* Arabian Sea) and from Surat to Quandhar and the Sulaiman range. It was because of the Sindhian Government's control over Makran that Rai Sahiras the second had to oppose the forces of the King of Neemroz, a province of Fars (*i.e.* Persia), when the latter had entered Kirman bordering on his territory. The following extract relating to the Sindhi dialect from Burton's *History of Sind*, published in 1851, shows that the Province of Sindh comprised a much vaster area in the days of the Rai dynasty. "It is spoken with many varieties from northern boundary of Kathiawar as far as Bahawalpur, and extends from the Brauhi mountains to the desert which separates Sindh from the old western frontier of the Indian empire, and these limits well agree with the Muslim accounts of the extent of empire belonging to Rais or Hindu rulers of Sindh." It was then a thickly populated and prosperous city containing several royal buildings, villas, gardens, fountains, streams, meadows and trees. It lay at a distance of about five miles to the south-east of Rohri, and was greatly admired for its prosperity by the Buddhist Chinese pilgrim Hiuen T. Sang, who visited the country about the year 641 A.D. and called it Pishan-po-Pulo. The Kingdom of Sindh was then separated from India proper by the Hakro or Wahindah, the Sin-tu of the above named pilgrim. Alor lay on the west bank of the Hakro, which is now known as the "lost river." While Hakro flowed past the town of Alor about five miles south by east of Rohri, to the north-east,

of Alor flowed another branch of the river nearly at right angles to the former at a distance of three miles. The site of the above-mentioned stream Hakro has been located as the Eastern Nara upon which stood the fortified town of Dahlelah between Raor and Brahamanabad. The river then flowed to the sea near Lakhpat, and its old course which can be traced near Nasarpur and some other places is known as Puran in Lower Sindh. Two stones were set in the bed of the river near Alor by Mir Muhammed Masoom in A.D. 1599 to mark the ancient course of the river. Most probably this river Hakro alias Wahindah existed at the time of Alexander's invasion, and all the Punjab rivers joined it and formed one great stream which after it had passed the city of Alor was called "Mihran." Apparently the river Hekro was called after the town of that name of which the remains lie at a distance of about 2½ miles from Rohri. The name is still retained by a village in the neighbourhood.

The sun of Sindhian glory and valour set with the fall of Raja Dahar in the battle of the Arab at Alor under the able command of the young intrepid soldier Muhammad Qasim in 712 A.D. It is recorded that his widow continued the defence of Alor until the exhaustion of provisions for the garrison, after Dahar fell fighting in the thick of the Arab cavalry. The last scene of the tragedy of Alor culminating in the immemorial Rajput ritual of the "Johur" is pathetically described by Sir George Birdwood in the following words: "Then she (Dahar's widow) and all the women, with their children gathered themselves together, and built up a great funeral pyre in the garden of the palace, and mounting it, were sacrificed in the flames of their own kindling, and the men having bathed and duly gone through the other ceremonies of the sublime "office" sallied forth sword in hand against the enemy and perished to a man."

A great change in the course of the river Indus is recorded to have occurred in 341 A.H. (962 A.D.) resulting in the desolation of Alor, and the growth of the towns of Rohri, Bakhar and Sakhar. The year is derived from the "Abjad" numerical value of the expression Dargahi-Ali, درگاہ علی occurring in a Persian inscription on the ancient building in the small island of Khwaja Khizr nearly opposite the town of Rohri. This change is attributed by a legend to the Almighty's wrath caused by the sinful conduct of Prince Dalurai, a whoremonger who wanted to appropriate the daughter of a devout Moslem merchant descending the Indus on his way to Mecca. It is said that the merchant obtained a respite of eight days; he spent his time in fasting and prayer and was miraculously conveyed with his family and kit to the above-mentioned island of Khwaja Khizr, the river suddenly changing its course and abandoning Alor. The rule of the Rai dynasty with their capital at Alor lasted for a period of 137 years only, upto A.D. 479. It terminated disastrously with the death of Rai Sahasi the Second, the henpecked husband of the wily childless woman Suhandi, who ultimately proved false to him, and to the whole of his kith and kin, married the astute Brahman councillor and her paramour Chachh, and had him installed on the throne of Sindh.

The devastation of Alor which is said to have been built of baked bricks on a hill at the foot of which flowed the Indus called Mehran, was so complete that there is hardly any specimen of Hindu architecture to be found there. In the 16th century in the days of Mirza Shah Beg the bricks of ancient fort of Alor were conveyed to Bakhar to repair the fort there. Lt. E. B. Eastwick who visited Alor about a century ago wrote as follows:

"What is said to have been the kot and palace of the Rajas is now a vast mound of undistinguishable ruin. The distance of Alor from Rohri is about five miles and the road passes over a bridge. After crossing the bridge you come upon a small village containing about sixty families of whom two-thirds are Mussalmans and the rest Hindus. From this village an extensive ridge of ruins is to be traced in a north-easterly direction. In this huge congeries there is no inscription to be found or anything worthy of notice except a picturesque ruin which bears the name of Alamgir's Musjid and two tombs of Sayyids, Shakar Ganj Shah, a contemporary and friend of the famous saint of Sehwan Lal Shahbaz, and his Khalifo Kutbuddinshah." Two fairs are held annually in this tract one in honour of the former and the other in honour of "Kalka Mata" alias Kalka Devi. The deity is installed in a subterranean vault which is said to have provided a means of communication with the outer world whenever the city was beseiged by enemies.

Among the relics of Alor, besides the tombs of the two Sayyids named above, may be mentioned two ruined domes known as Sohagin (a woman loved by her husband) and Duhagin (a widowed or unlucky woman). The site was visited by Richard Burton, and regarding these domes he wrote "no villager could tell which is which." According to some accounts, in the vicinity of Alor lies a Samadhi—a seat of deep meditation or the last resting place—of Raja Bhartari, the well-known Prince-ascetic and the author of three "Shataks"—(a Shatak literally is a century poem or a composition of one hundred stanzas or paragraphs) that is treatises on "Neetee," ethics, "Vairagya," renunciation, and "Shringar," adornment and love. Raja Bhartari is a renowned historical figure. He renounced his kingdom and royal state stung by the infidelity of his dearly loved consort; he was the elder brother of the illustrious King Vikramaditya, who is recorded to have established his rule after expelling from Aryavrita the people of Shuka (Scythian) tribe 58 years before Christ. In his monumental work *Rajasthan*, Col. Tod says: "Bhartari is reported to have lived for a time at Sehwan on the Indus, and no doubt the fame of so great a devotee would be widespread in Sindh as it was in all Northern India." One of the old branches of the Indus of which there is no trace now, mentioned in the *Chachnama*, is Bartari, and among the ancient debris at Sehwan are said to lie a mandir and a palace of Raja Bhartari.

Alor was a place of very good climate. It is said that the last Hindu monarch Raja Dahar resided there for eight months, and at Brahmanabad for the remaining four months of winter.

According to a legend published in a biography of Swami Vankhandi the founder of Sadhbelo at Sukkur, treasures of ancient Rajas lie buried in the hills of Alore, and in his work "The Antiquities of Sind", Cousens has quoted some matter from the Chachnama showing that Rai Sahiras owned "innumerable riches and immense buried treasures," and in the hoary past the Sindhian monarch Mousikanos was characterised as "the most opulent prince in India."

At the time of the Moslem conquest of Sindh in 712 A.D., there were numerous Buddhist monasteries and temples of Brahmans in Sindh and Alor possessed a large number of rich merchants and workers in marble who could make beautiful life-like statues and weapons of war; the bulk of the population however lived by agriculture.

The historical importance of Sindh traversed by the classic waters of the Indus, and trodden by the armies of every invader of Hindustan is an incontrovertible fact, but its early history particularly that of pre-Islamic period is almost a sealed book.

The *Chachnama* and other old histories do not furnish any systematic account of even the ages that intervened between the invasion of Alexander and the conquest of Sind by Arabs. A few names of kings interspersed with some legends hardly make history. The amazing discovery of Mohen (Muan)-jo-daro (mound of the dead) in recent years has in the words of Sir Arthur Keith "revolutionized our conception of the early history of India." He further writes:—"Until this mound of the dead was discovered we had no suspicion that great solidly built houses of well-burned brick grouped along straight wide streets and narrow lanes in city-block fashion existed anywhere in the world five thousand years ago." Another gentleman Mr. C. W. Richardson, who in March 1854 visited the ruins of Brahmanabad called "the Sindh Pompeii" by Lt. Lambert wrote as follows: "Among the copper coins are many of Lilliputian size—so small that their value in the present day would be hardly calculable. In a city where such coins were employed in the most ordinary and daily money transactions how cheap must have been the price of food?"

Ample research work is necessary in connection with the several promising sites which lie scattered in the Delta and other parts of Sindh. Alor, Brahmanabad, Depar Ghanghro, Dalor, Debal, Kalankot, Shahkapoor and Vikkar are some of them. According to Henry Cousens, the author of *Antiquities of Sindh* a great deal of excavation work remains to be done, and it is likely that the labours of industrious archaeologists and scholars may lay bare some important links of the remote past, a glimmer of whose glory is discernible in the pages of old record howsoever deficient it is.

NEW LIGHT ON THE IDENTITY OF CHACH, THE FOUNDER OF BRAHMANA DYNASTY IN SIND.*

By D. R. Mankad, M.A.

It is said in the—*Chachnamah* (1) that one day a young man came to Ram, the minister and chamberlain of Rai Sahasi, the last king of the Rai Dynasty of Sind. On being asked the young man said: (2) "My name is Chach, son of Selaij, Brahman, etc." It is too well-known to repeat here, that this young man, later, became the founder of the Brahman Dynasty in Sind. But about the antecedents of this Chach, son of Selaij, we know absolutely nothing. His past is a total blank. But recently I have come across some evidence which shows that this Chach originally belonged to Kashmir. I shall detail this evidence here.

In Kashmir, there was a king named Jayapida. This Jayapida is one of the most romantic figures of Kashmir history. He, after coming to the throne, started on a series of compaigns, even as his grandfather Lalitaditya had done before him. It is said in Rajatarangini (3) that when Jayapida went to Bengal side, his brother-in-law named Jajja, taking advantage of his absence, usurped the throne of Kashmir. He ruled for three years at the end of which Jayapida returned and in a pitched battle defeated him. It is said in Rajatarangini(4) that his own kinsmen left Jajja dying on the battlefield. Rajatarangini says nothing more about this Jajja, but I think that Jajja, after all, did not die and later on, came to Sind and became the founder of the Brahmana Dynasty.

The names Jajja and Chach are phonetically the same. In the Dardic speeches, which had and still have their influence on the spoken dialects of Sind and Punjab, hardening of a soft letter is one of the most marked characteristics. Damodara, for instance, in these speeches, will become Tamotara. Similarly Jajja would change to Chach. That the original name of Chach was Jajja is proved by the following also:—

(1) *Chachnamah* mentions (5) a city called Jajhor in the Multan district. This must have been originally Jajja-pura. Jajja-pura, in Prakrit, would change to Jajja-ura, which then would change to Jajhora. As Mirza Kalich Beg has noted (6) one Ms. actually spells it Chachpur. Thus here the forms Jajj and Chach have interchanged.

(2) This is conclusively proved by a foot-note given in the *Antiquities of Sind* by H. Cousens, which says (7) that one of the various spellings of Chach as found in different Manuscripts is Jaj also.

Therefore the names Chach and Jajja are the same.

*Read before the Sind Historical Society on 18th November 1943.

1. *Chachnamah*, translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, 1900, page 13.
2. *Ibid*, page 13
3. *Rajatarangini* (IV, 410), ed. by M. A. Stein.
4. *Raj*, IV, 472-480
5. *Ibid*, page 12
6. *Ibid*, page 12n.
7. *Antiquities of Sind*, by H. Cousens, page 14n.

Let us now see whether this Chach or Jajja of Sind was the same as Jajja of Kashmir or not.

The author of *Chachnamah* gives the following boundaries for the kingdom of Rai Sahasi.(1) "The limits of his dominions were on the east, boundary of Kashmir, on the west Makran, on the south to the coast of sea and Debal and on the north to the mountains Kurdan and Kikanan." In *Tarikh-i-Maasumi* and *Tukfalul Karim* (2) Kashmir and Kanauj are given on the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Rai Sahasi. Thus it is clear that Sind and Kashmir were just adjoining kingdoms, having a common boundary. Therefore if a disaffected person wished to migrate or sneak away from one to the other state, it was quite easy. Thus if Jajja of Kashmir, after his defeat, had run away to Sind, it is what may just be expected.

Having thus made out a plausible *prima facie* case for the identity of Chach of Sind and Jajja of Kashmir, now, I shall go to other details. I should point out that kings of Kashmir are at least twice mentioned in *Chachnamah*, in connection with the political history of the Brahmana Dynasty. These references are as under:

Some time, after coming to the throne, Chach went to all the four provinces of Rai Sahasi's kingdom in order to renew their allegiance to himself. When he went to Multan, the governor of that place, who seems to have made himself independent after the death of Rai Sahasi, gave him a fight.(5) But when this governor saw that he was about to be defeated he sent an appeal to the king of Kashmir, for help. But before the messenger arrived in Kashmir, the king of that place had died and his son, a minor, had succeeded to the throne. The ministers of Kashmir, therefore, sent the following answer: (3)"The king of Kashmir has gone to his permanent abode and his son is a child yet, of tender years and an inexperienced prince. His soldiery are rising in mutiny and revolt in different parts of his country etc."

Thus in the days of Chach, one ruling king of Kashmir had died and his minor son had just come to the throne and there were internal dissentions in Kashmir. This is datum number one to be remembered.

After the death of Chach, his brother Chandar (or as the word is originally spelt Jandar), came to the throne. In his days, Mattah, the king of Multan went to Kanauj and asked the king of Kanauj to invade Sind. The king of Kanauj, at that time, was one Siharas. (4) He sent his brother Barhas, the son of Rasil to Kashmir, for help. *Chachnamah* notes (5) that at that time, a grandson of the great Chach (by his daughter) was the king of Kashmir. He made a pact and joined in the invasion of Sind.

1. *Ibid*, page 11.
2. *Ibid*, page 11.
3. *Ibid*, pages 28-29.
4. *Ibid*, page 29.
5. *Ibid*, page 40.

Here we find that when Chach died and his brother succeeded him, there was a grandson of the great Chach on the throne. This seems to be a king distinct from the child king who was the contemporary of Chach, as about that child king, no relationship with Chach is noted, while about this king, it is so noted. Therefore I take that these two kings, were different persons, the child king had already died in the days of Chandar and Chach's grandson had succeeded him. This is datum number two to be remembered by us.

Now I should submit that both these data as are given in *Chachnamah* fit quite well in and are corroborated by the contemporary history of Kashmir. I have said above that Jajja, the brother-in-law of Jayapida, the king of Kashmir, is, according to me the same as Chach.

According to *Rajatarangini*, following are kings that ruled in Kashmir at this period. (1) Jayapida had, by three different wives three different sons, named Tribhuvanapida, Lalitapida and Sangramapida. Out of these three sons, Tribhuvanapida, though eldest was not given the throne. Therefore, Lalitapida and Sangramapida ruled in succession after Jayapida, one for 12 years and the other for 7 years. After, Sangramapida, Chippata Jayapida, the son of Lalitapida came on the throne. About him we are expressly told (2) in *Raj* that when he came to the throne he was a child and seeing that he was a child his maternal uncles rose into a rebellion and started enjoying the authority themselves. At the end, Chippata Jayapida, after a rule of 12 years, was murdered. And after the death of Chippata Jayapida, Ajitapida, the son of Tribhuvanapida (who though the eldest son of Jayapida, was not given the throne after the death of his father), was put on the throne by his maternal uncle, and this Ajitapida ruled for 26 years.

These different successions on the throne of Kashmir are worth understanding properly. Jayapida, the brother-in-law of Jajja had three queens named Meghavati, Durga and Kalyanadevi. Meghavati's son was Tribhuvanapida, Durga's son was Lalitapida and Kalyanadevi's son was Sangramapida. Tribhuvanapida, the son of Meghavati, was the eldest and yet after the death of his father, he was not given the throne, as is expressly noted in *Rajatarangini*. I think that this Meghavati, though it is not noted in *Raj*, was the sister of Jajja. And because Jajja had been a usurper and a traitor, his sister's son, though eldest, was not given the throne after the death of Jayapida. The throne was given first to Lalitapida and then to Sangramapida. After Sangramapida it was given to Chippata Jayapida, the son of Lalitapida. And he being a child his maternal uncles virtually, took possession of the kingdom.

1. *Raj*, IV, 402-703.
2. *Raj*, IV, 676H.

Now here I should mention one other fact. Lalitapida had a wife named Jayadevi whose son this Chippata Jayapida was. Now after the death of Lalitapida, his wife Jayadevi seems to have married Tribhuvanapida, the son of Meghavati, the sister of Jajja. By Jayadevi, Tribhuvanapida had one son named Ajitapida. Thus, Jayadevi, by two different husbands, had two sons one named Chippata Jayapida and one named Ajitapida. Now we have seen that after the death of Sangramapida, the son of Lalitapida, named Chippata Jayapida was put on the throne He being a child, his maternal uncles, that is the brothers of Jayadevi, virtually enjoyed the kingdom.

Out of these maternal uncles of Chippata Jayapida, one was named Mamma and the other was named Utpala. Now, it seems that, as time passed, one of these, Utpala, sided with Ajitapida the son of Tribhuvanapida by Jayadevi and one, Mamma, sided with Chippata Jayapida. And after the death of Chippata Jayapida, Mamma put Ajitapida on the throne. Later on, towards the end of Ajitapida's rule, there occurred a very fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, but with that we are not concerned.

This discussion brings out these facts:—(1) After Jayapida's death, his two sons Lalitapida and Sangramapida ruled in succession, one for 12 years and other for 7 years. After Sangramapida, Lalitapida's son Chippata Jayapida was put on the throne. He ruled for 12 years. (2) This Chippata-Jayapida was a child when he came to the throne. (3) And therefore his maternal uncles rose in rebellion and virtually ruled over the kingdom themselves. (4) After the death of Chippata Jayapida, Ajitapida, the son of Tribhuvanapida, was put on the throne and he ruled for 26 years.

Keeping these details of Kashmir history in mind, I identify the child king of Kashmir who had just come to the throne when Chach went to Multan, with Chippata Jayapida. Both the facts—(1) that the king was a child and that (2) there was internal mutiny and revolt—about the child king of Kashmir, mentioned in *Chachnamah*, are fully corroborated by the history of Chippata Jayapida's reign as found in *Rajatarangini* and as is detailed above.

Further, I identify the king of Kashmir, who allied with the kings of Kanauj and Multan in the days of Chandar, the brother and successor of Chach, with Ajitapida, the son of Tribhuvanapida and the successor of Chippata Jayapida. *Chachnamah* expressly says that the king of Kashmir in the days of Chandar, was the grandson (by his daughter) of Chach. Now we know that Chach had only one daughter named Bai, who had married her own brother Dahar. She married Dahar after the death of Chandar, therefore her son cannot be the ruler of Kashmir in the days of Chandar, whom Dahar succeeded. We know of no other daughter of Chach. Then who was the king of Kashmir in the days of Chandar and what relation had

he with Chach? I think that the king of Kashmir in the days of Chandar was Ajitapida. We have just seen that Ajitapida was the son of Tribhuvanapida, who himself was the eldest son of Jayapida. This Jayapida, as we have seen, was the brother-in-law (sister's husband) of Jajja, whom I identify with Chach. Therefore Tribhuvanapida was the nephew and Ajitapida the grand-nephew of Jajja. I do not know what word is used in the original of *Chachnamah* for grandson, but I have no doubt in my mind, that what is meant is not the grandson (by daughter) but grand-nephew (sister's son's son). Either the Arabic writer of *Chachnamah* or its Persian translator was wrongly informed or, as is more likely, has wrongly understood the relation and therefore has written grandson. Thus the contemporary king of Kashmir in the days of Chandar was his own as well Chach's (or Jajja's) grand-nephew. This reference of Kashmir king being the grandson of Chach, I think, conclusively proves that Jajja of Kashmir history is the same as Chach of Sind history.

Now let us consider some other matters. It is said in *Chachnamah* (1) that Chach ruled for 40 years. It is said in *Rajatarangini* (2) that Jayapida ruled for 31 years, Lalitapida for 12 years, Sangramapida for 7 years, Chippata Jayapida for 12 years, and Ajitapida for 26 years. We are also told in *Chachnamah* that Chandar had fought with the confideracy of the kings of Multan, Kanauj and Kashmir, almost soon after he came to the throne. Now the king of Kashmir, in Chandar's days was Ajitapida, as I have shown above. This means that Ajitapida also must have come to the throne about the time of the death of Chach. Therefore Chach's reginal period will embrace (12+7+12=)31 years of the rules of Lalitapida, Sangramapida and Chippata Jayapida or taking that Ajitapida came to the throne in the first year of Chandar's reign, Chach's reign might have embraced 31 years of those three kings' rules plus one year of Ajitapida's rule. Chach is said to have ruled for 40 years. Therefore he must have come to the throne of Sind when 8 years of Jayapida's rule were left. Taking that Chach enjoyed a long life of 75 or 80 years, his rule in Sind must have started when he was about 40 years old. And taking that he took about 10 years to work up his way in the reign of Rai Sahasi, before he came to the throne, we might say that he came to Sind when he was about 30 years old. He might have taken a year or two in wandering after leaving Kashmir and before arriving at the home of Ram, the minister of Rai Sahasi. And before leaving Kashmir he had ruled for 3 years in Kashmir, the throne of which country he had usurped. Thus he might have come to the throne of Kashmir when he was of 25 years. Thus we can say that Chach or Jajja usurped the throne of Kashmir in the 5th or 6th year of Jayapida's rule, ruled over Kashmir for 3 years, passed 2 years in wandering before he appeared before Ram, passed 10 years before he actually became the king of Sind and married Suhandi. Thus he might have come to the throne of Sind in the (8+3+2+10) 23rd year of Jayapida's rule. Jayapida's

1 *Ibid*, page 39
2 *Raj*, IV, 657-703

rule is said to have lasted for 31 years. Thus Chach's rule of 40 years in Sind embraced the last 8 years of Jayapida's rule, 12 years of Lalitapida's rule, 7 years of Sangramapida's rule, 12 years of Chippata Jayapida's rule and first one year of Ajitapida's rule.

After Chach, in Sind, Chandar ruled for 7 years and Dahar for 17 years. In Kashmir, Ajitapidaruled in all for 26 years and for 25 years after Chach's death. Thus the end of Ajitapida's rule and the rule of Dahar almost synchronised. This fact will be clear from the following considerations. But all this, I think, establishes Chach's identification with Jajja of Kashmir

But inspite of all the evidence that I havegathered, there still remains a very great objection against the identification proposed by me. According to the chronology of Kashmir, as is generally accepted today Jayapida, whose brother-in-law Jajja was, ruled in about 750 A.D. And according to the generally accepted chronology of Sind, Dahar, the son of Chach, was killed by the Arabs, in 712 A.D. How, then, can this Chach, whose rule was over at least 25 years before the death of Dahar in 712 A.D., be the brother-in-law of Jayapida, who ruled from 740-771 A.D.? Therefore, either the identification proposed by me is incorrect, or the generally accepted chronology of Kashmir or Sind is incorrect. I think that the evidence for the identification of Chach and Jajja as detailed by me above, is conclusive. I also think that the date of Arab invasion of Sind is also unalterable and therefore fixed. I, therefore, think that the generally accepted chronology of Kashmir for the kings Jayapida to Ajitapida is incorrect and therefore needs correction. I shall show how.

I have examined the question of Kashmir chronology, in all its details, elsewhere and therefore, here, I only note one line of argument, which so far as I can see, is conclusive.

Modern historians put Jayapida's rule from 740 to 771 A.D. Now, I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, who is known to have travelled in India from 670 A.D. to 690 A.D., has noted that Jayaditya, the grammarian had died in about 660 A.D. (1) Raj says that this king Jayapida was a good grammarian and had actually composed a work on grammar. (2) Now we today possess a work on grammar written in Sanskrit conjointly by Jayaditya and Vamana. And *Rajatarangini* expressly tells (3) us that the king Jayapida himself was a great grammarian and that an author named Vamana lived at his court. Therefore, I-tsing's Jayaditya and Jayaditya of the Sanskrit work on grammar, are the same as the king Jayapida of Kashmir. And I-tsing says that this Jayapida had died in about 660 A.D.

1 See *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, by Belvalkar, pages 36-37.

2. *Raj*, IV, 488-89; 664-67.

3. *Ibid*, page 189.

I-tsing himself started on his tour in 670 A.D. and must have been in Kashmir in 671-72 A.D. I-tsing wrote his book in 690 A.D. Therefore he cannot be much wrong in his statement that Jayapida had died in about 660 A.D. For this reason and others shown by me elsewhere, I take that the dates given for Jayapida by the modern historians, are wrong.*

Taking, therefore, that Jayapida died in 656 A.D., we can put Chach's accession to the throne of Sind (which as we have seen happened 8 years before Jayapida's death) in 656-8=648 A.D. Therefore Chach ruled from 648 A.D. to 688 A.D., Chandar from 688 A.D. to 695 A.D. and Dahar from 695 A.D. to 712 A.D. In Kashmir, Jayapida ruled from 625 to 656 A.D. Lalitapida from 656-668 A.D., Sangramapida from 668-675 A.D., Chippata Jayapida from 675-687 A.D. and Ajitapida from 687-713 A.D. Thus the ends of the rules of Dahar and Ajitapida coincide.

Thus the identification of Chach and Jajja, proposed by me here, fits quite well in the history of Sind and Kashmir both. Therefore, Chach, the founder of Brahman Dynasty in Sind came to Sind from Kashmir, as a refugee. And, as the fate would have it, Kaksah, the son of Chandar and nephew of Chach(2), after the Arab invasion of Multan, went to Kashmir from Sind as a refugee. Fate, after all, squares up all accounts.

TABLE I.

Showing successions and proposed dates.

SIND.		KASHMIR.	
1. Chach	40 years. 648—688 A.D.	1. Jayapida	625—656 A.D.
		2. Lalitapida	656—668 A.D.
2. Chandar	7 years. 688—695 A.D.	3. Sangramapida	668—675 A.D.
3. Dahar	17 years. 695—712 A.D.	4. Chippata Jayapida	675—687 A.D.
		5. Ajitapida	687—713 A.D.

TABLE II.

Showing Synchronisms between Sind and Kashmir kings.

SIND		KASHMIR.	
		1. Jayapida	(23) 625—648 A.D.
(Chach came to Sind as a refugee in 638 A.D.)		1. Jayapida	(8) 648—756 A.D.
		2. Lalitapida	(12) 656—668 A.D.
1. Chach	(40) 648—688 A.D.	3. Sangramapida	(7) 668—675 A.D.
		4. Chippata Jayapida	(12) 875—687 A.D.
		5. Ajitapida	(1) 687—688 A.D.
			40

* For this point, I request the reader to refer to my paper on chronology of Kashmir, which will be most probably published in the next issue of this Journal.

2. Chandar (7) 688—695 A.D.
3. Dahar (17) 695—712 A.D.

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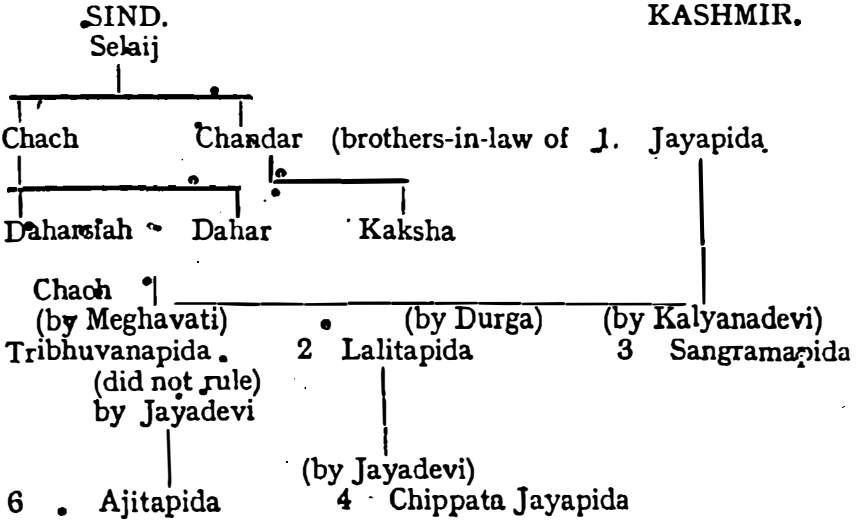
5. Ajitadpida (24) 688—712 A.D.

5. Ajitapida (1) 712—713 A.D.
[In his reign probably came Kaksah as a refugee to Kashmir.]

TABLE III.

Showing relationships.



Personal Chronology of Chach.

A D. 632-35 ruled in Kashmir
A D. 636-3 Wandered
A D. 638 Came to Ram.
A D. 638-648 Worked up his way
A D. 648 Acc. and marriage with S.
A D. 648-688 Ruled in Sind

THE FIRST RAILWAY IN SIND.

• By C. L. Mariwalla, B.A.

Read before the Sind Historical Society on 8th January 1944.

Commerce assumed an extraordinary aspect in the nineteenth century Its paramount importance lay not merely in the profits of trade, but its being used for furthering political ends. Russia and England were running a neck to neck race for mastery in Asia. England had already acquired a large portion of India. Russia came later into the field. But its "secret systems" created a great suspicion in the minds of many English statesmen that the results of Russian mechanications were bound to succeed against the "ostentation and noise of our movements." In spite of all suspicions however the English never lost heart. They kept up an incessant vigil over their frontiers and adopted other adequate means to meet the situation. The construction of railways in India was one of the moves in the right direction and that of a line from Karachi to Kotri, the first in Sind, in particular, was mooted to answer an important end. In this paper an attempt will be made to study the motivating factors that gave rise to the construction of the first Railway in the Province and under what circumstances the line was completed and utilized.

Sind was annexed by the British in 1843. When in March of that year the Amirs of Sind surrendered their sovereignty to the British General —Sir Charles Napier—his eagle eye at once perceived the potentialities of the Indus from a military as well as a commercial standpoint. His observations soon bore fruit and he could then declare without fear of contradiction, "the march of Alexander from the Beas to the Ocean with the voyage of Nearchus marks the coming line of European trade with India." He became more explicit with regard to British commerce when he declared "India should suck English manufactures up her great rivers and pour down those rivers her own varied products." It was not only the hero of Miani who realised the importance of his conquest. One of the most eminent French political writers of the day is said to have exclaimed when news reached Europe of the annexation of Sind to the British Empire in India: "The Indus henceforth is a British River. Who can foresee the consequences to the destinies of mankind." Sir Charles Napier did not believe in empty platitudes. He was essentially a man of action and soon after Sind had settled down to bask in the sunshine of British rule, the General set himself the task of seeing that the Indus did fulfil the high hopes entertained about its commercial possibilities by men like Moorcraft and Burnes. He had long realised that there were certain causes which greatly hindered the free flow of commerce by the Indus and he sought to set things right so that nothing should hereafter impede commercial enterprise by the river. His answer to the question as to what a civilized man would do if he became the ruler of Sind supplies the clue to the endeavours he put forth in encouraging commerce. His reply to the query was characteristic of the man: "I would abolish the tolls on the river make

Karachi a free port, protect Shikarpur from robbers, make Sukkur a mart for trade on the Indus, I would make a track-way along its banks. I would get steam boats." By the establishment of a Police Force in Sind, by organising compaigns against hilly tribes, and by his salutary punishments to criminal offenders, he succeeded in striking terror in the heart of the heartless dacoits of Upper Sind. His next endeavour was to use the Government Flotilla on the Indus for commercial purposes. He carried on correspondence with the Governor-General in this connection and in 1847 orders were received for an experimental voyage from Karachi to Kotri. H. C. steamer *'Nimrod'* undertook the trial journey. But it did not prove a very great success as was expected, and, therefore, regular steam service on the Indus did not come into force earlier than 1851. Prior to this, however, in individual cases, permission was occasionally granted for travelling or conveying merchandise by the Government Flotilla vessels which were mainly utilised for carrying troops, grain and Government stores. Mr. E. L. Mitford was allowed to use the Indus Flotilla steamer for his journey from Sukkur to Tatta for Rs. 90 in 1843. In 1848 permission was granted to Messrs. Jehangir Nusserwanjee & Co. of Karachi for conveying their merchandise by the Government Flotilla vessels, and again a similar convenience was granted to the same firm early in 1851. But the greatest need of the time was for a safe haven, a land-locked harbour on the sea-board of Sind. Past experience had shown the futility of creating a port at the mouths of the Indus and before the British conquest, the sagacity of the native commercial enterpriser had suggested Karachi as the most suitable site for the required port. Karachi had already eclipsed all the delta ports and after the conquest, the conqueror invested all his energies to make of Karachi a real good port which could afford anchorage to all types of vessels at all seasons of the year. In the channel the water was shallow, the landing at the Jhuna Bunder was tedious and dangerous, and, above all, a bar at the mouth of the harbour was a ticklish problem for the navigator. Sir Charles succeeded in removing the first two difficulties by the erection of the Napier Mole connecting Keamari island to the mainland. At the same time it was necessary to maintain communication between the Indus and the port of Karachi. The Gharo creek was utilised for the purpose. The four Flotilla vessels assigned by Government to ply on the Indus for commercial purposes after reaching Tatta entered the Gharo creek and reached Gizri Bunder in safety. Thus in the words of Napier the line of commercial communication by the Indus proved to be "the best, the quickest, the safest and the cheapest." Sir Charles Napier had many more plans for the improvement of the harbour of Karachi, but unfortunately he left Sind in 1847 and the plans were not put into operation. He did make an effort for the removal of river tolls but during his regime the proposal was vehemently opposed though the river dues were abolished early in 1852. On the whole the conqueror of Sind put forth his sincere efforts to encourage commerce and though the results were not so edifying during his regime, he had every reason to declare "Karachi, you will yet be the glory of the East. Wouldst that I could come back alive to see you, Karachi in your grandeur." It must be said to the credit of Sir Charles that he was the first pioneer in shaping the modern port of Karachi and his scheme of the Napier

Mole and harbour works along with the opinions and observations of Commodores Young and Rennie of the Indian Navy, the personal experiences of Lt. Leeds, the Karachi Port Officer, and Capt. C. D. Campbell of the Indian Navy in piloting large ships into the harbour and leading them out, and the experiments of Col. Turner to study the material composition of the bar at the mouth of the harbour and the improvements suggested and carried out by James Walker, the eminent harbour engineer, presented to the world a "creation" of which they could well be proud. "The rise or rather the creation of the port of Karachi" wrote the Sind Kossid of Karachi editorially "is a feat to be compared with San Francisco or Chicago or any giant creation of the Far West." Thus Napier had succeeded in affording fresh impulse to commerce by affording every possible 'increase in facility and safety of transport.' And with the regular working of the Indus Flotilla for commercial purposes may be marked the regular rise in the trade figures of Karachi. The steadiness of the rate of increase is not less remarkable than its large amount. In 1843, the year of the conquest, Karachi registered imports worth Rs. 12,11,500 as against exports amounting to Rs. 10,100. In 1853 through the same port goods worth Rs. 50,87,930 were imported and Rs. 37,63,100 worth articles were exported. Thus within ten years, the imports had multiplied more than fourfold and the exports had risen 372 times. On the whole there had been a rise of nearly 600 per cent. in the trade of Karachi within the first decade of the conquest.

Now that the monthly service had been established between Multan and Karachi by the Indus and commerce came to adhere to the old channel pointed out by the ancients, Karachi was pointed out to be "not only the port of the Indus and Central Asia" but was sure to be "if not the future metropolis of India, most certainly the second city and the European port of that Empire." Thornton in his Gazeteer had remarked long ago "In a commercial point of view it (Karachi) may be defined as the gate of Central Asia and is likely to become to India what Liverpool is to England." The commercial trend, as years went on, showed a regular rise and this had been achieved when the Government had by themselves done nothing to give impetus to developing the resources of the provinces of the Indus. They had merely provided peace and tranquility in the land and had introduced the commercial enterpriser to use the river as the highway of commerce. And yet, reported the late Mr. Macleod, the meritorious Deputy Collector of Customs at Karachi in 1853, "the commerce of the port has been progressing during the past few years and there is every reason to expect a continuance of the progressive ratio." In assigning reasons for the future of the port, the same writer pointed out "the residents in the Punjab have shown a desire to procure their supplies by the Indus in preference to the line of the Ganges and in a few years their desire will be gratified to the fullest extent." He noted the same tendency with regard to the "extensive" Afghan traders. Sir Charles was also conscious of similar gains when he wanted the Indus to become the channel of commerce as of old, when he wrote "I am taking or rather trying to take advantage of our lull to push a steamer to Ferozpur with good and cheap things for the troops from Bom-

bay instead of Calcutta. I hope to draw down commerce to Karachi. "The whole of the Calcutta interest" continue Sir Charles, "is at work to run down Sind and the Indus because this otherwise will ruin the trade of the Ganges and draw down all commerce to Karachi." Besides growing commerce by the Indus it was in the interests of the large number of pilgrims from the countries to the north west to avail themselves of the Indus valley line of transit for going to, Mecca.

To the expected heavy traffic on the Indus, political considerations were expected to add enormously. Russia had been preparing incessantly for the realisation of the darling object of her policy—an invasion of India. And Persia was likely to aid her. "The fact of the Russian territory" writes W. P. Andrews "lying so close to the capital of Persia, whilst our attacks can only take place on the sea board of the Persian Gulf, naturally gives additional influence to Russia at the court of Tehran. On this account the British in India had to keep alert along their North West Frontier and use all tactics to counteract the growing influence of Russia, particularly in the countries lying between Russia and the British Indian frontier. Russia had adopted a farsighted policy in affecting a successful invasion of India. It had planned the projection of Railways which would be able to ruin English trade in Asia successfully and the same could be utilized for military purposes in an emergency. "The little projected Russian railways," writes Andrews, "however spaciously but forward as new commercial roads, are only another step in the direction of the future invasion of India. Their influence when completed will no doubt be as commercially injurious to the interests of our merchants, as strategically dangerous to our supremacy in the East." By using the Russian Railways, France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland could easily compete with England in the Persian, Central Asian, Afghanistan and North Indian markets as these Railways would be able to supply these markets with goods expeditiously and at nominal expense and thus break the commercial monopoly of England in Asia so far maintained by the control of the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope routes to India. By the same means armies could easily be landed on the Indian Frontier without much noise. "Where a cargo of goods will pass, a battalion of men can follow; and all the more easily and effectively will troops be concentrated against our North-West Frontier when masked under commercial movements." Therefore, it was essential for the British in India to organise ways and means to counteract this Russian influence. The solution of the problem lay in organising quick and easy means of transit by the line of the Indus to be used for commercial as well as military purposes. In the opinion of the sagacious Sir Bartle Frere, Commissioner in Sind from 1851 to 1860, the best solution lay in winning the confidence of the people of Central Asia through commerce. While addressing a prominent gathering he pointed out, "If the permanent tranquility of Central Asia had to be secured, if the triumphs of Great Britain would be permanent, they must be rendered so by a mutuality of interests, by the material and civilizing influences of expanding commerce. The great battle of the country for the tranquility of Central Asia must be fought at Manchester

and Liverpool. If we would command Central Asia, that dominion must be established by opening up a ready market for their raw material and subjecting them by the force of their own material interests." In addition to establishing English influence in Central Asia through commerce, it was essential to facilitate communication throughout the valley of the Indus for easy and quick military movements to make it possible to concentrate troops on any point that may be threatened, or if need be, to move and force to either of the two great passes—the Bolan and the Khyber. "Should however one of these be closed to our forces, they could be moved with rapidity to the other and in either case the enemy would be taken in flank or rear." The Indus route was also to be utilized for sending to any station in India the new recruits from England and every invalid who was sent back shattered to his home as this route alone was the most convenient and economical, and, therefore, politically preferable.

But the most important question was if the Indus and its existing means of communication would be able to bear the strain of the many possibilities of utilizing it for commercial and political purposes. The normally growing commerce without the Government's impetus to exploit the resources of the country bordering on the Indus; the intensification of commerce with Central Asia, using the Indus as a military highway and keeping up the inter-communication between England and the North-West Frontier of India from a military standpoint and above all accommodating the growing pilgrim traffic by the Indus could hardly be managed by the existing means of communication or even augmenting the same to any extent. The means of communication employed on the Indus had already been found unable to cope with the task. Improved means were found essential even if the Indus was to be utilized merely for the existing commerce. The limited number of Flotilla vessels could be utilized only for a negligible portion of the actual commerce by the river, the rest being undertaken by native boats. "The steamers at present on the river," observes Andrews, "are quite inadequate to meet the pressing demands for passage and freight in ordinary times. Goods frequently remained for months at Karachi and Multan from the want of means of transport." I have known, writes another authority, instances of goods at Karachi intended for the Punjab being sent back to Bombay with a view to being forwarded by the Peninsula and Oriental Company boats *via* Galle and Calcutta, and so up the Ganges to the Punjab, because there appeared no hope of tonnage being available for them for several months together. Besides even when the goods could be sent up, the progress of the boats was exceptionally slow with the result that on many occasions when the goods reached their destination, they proved hardly worthy of any use. "Large quantities of stores, particularly porter, was obliged to be sent by country boats are found to be worthless on reaching the Punjab, the voyage of 800 miles from Karachi to Multan lasting 5 months." At the same time the cost of transport was pretty heavy.

In order to face the situation boldly and make the line of the Indus answer the commercial, military and political requirements of the times,

the solution lay in erecting a line of Railway from Karachi to Kotri and engaging a large number of river steamers suited to the Indus. The one great handicap in the progress of river transport had been the difficult and dangerous navigation in the delta of the river. This had to be avoided at all costs to save time and make the journey safe and cheap. "From the sea coast to the head of the delta just below Hyderabad the course of the Indus is tortuous in the extreme, the delay is unavoidable and the losses most serious. The country, however, between the sea-board and Hyderabad is all but a dead level offering every facility for a line of Railway, thus overcoming the delay, the losses and the danger incident to the navigation of the delta." The importance of the railway-cum-river transport to the northward could not be over-rated specially when considered in relation to the extensive commerce and the existing position of the British Empire in the East and the urgent necessity which existed for carrying out without delay every project capable not only of increasing the means of inter-communication in India but of shortening the distance from England to the most important and the most vulnerable portions of the Empire in the East. That the Railway from Karachi to Kotri will be able to avoid the delays and dangers of the delta and debouche on a point of the river above which there existed a permanently open navigation up to Multan was realised quite early by Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner in Sind, and he left no stone unturned in presenting sufficient data for inducing the formation of a company to undertake the construction of a railway line from Karachi to Kotri—the first in Sind. Under the guidance of the Commissioner-in-Sind, Mr. Hardy Wells began to collect information bearing on the Railway early in 1853. And he at once realized the advantages of the line. In the same year that able and scientific officer, Lt. Chapman of the Bombay Engineers carried out a survey of the same line and submitted his highly commendable report. Sir Bartle Frere had now in hand sufficient information with regard to the Railway and he with the help of friends at Home diffused that knowledge. Many realised the utility and the profitable character of the line. The country through which the line had to run was quite adapted for the purpose. The line connected two important towns, one the old capital, and the other the new one guaranteeing fat dividends as there already existed a paying goods traffic all the year round which was bound to increase enormously with improved means of transport. The line also enjoyed importance from the military point of view since the Government was bound to take advantage of the new mode of transmitting stores and troops to the northern provinces to avoid the tedious and tiresome travel in the delta of the river. This alone could hold out a prospect of high profits to the shareholders of the company undertaking the line. Early in 1856 the Scinde Railway Company was formed with its offices in Gresham House, Old Broad Street, London. The Company was a joint stock organization with a provisional capital of £500,000 divided into 25,000 shares of £20 each. Out of this lot only 5,000 shares were reserved for being sold in India. The Company was, however, allowed to double its capital in December 1857. In spite of the very bright prospects of the line, the Scinde Railway Company requested the East India Co., for the guarantee of a minimum rate of interest, on the capital

of 5 per cent. for the first five years and 4½ per cent. for the next 94 years and for the lease of land necessary for the railway and works for a similar period, free of change. In return for the guarantee of interest and leasing the requisite land, the East India Company reserved the right to regulate the trains and fares and to lower the fares in case the dividend exceeded 10 per cent with this proviso that the fares shall be so reduced as not to lower the dividend of 10 per cent. On the opening of the line, the net profits, after deducting the guaranteed interest were to be divided equally between the shareholders of the Railway Company, the East India Co. getting the share in liquidation of the interest advanced by them. The East India Co., was also to enjoy the power after the first 25 or 50 years to purchase the line at the average market value of all the shares during the period of the last three years. On the other hand "the Railway Co., have the power, at any time after the line has been three months in work, to require the East India Co., to take it off their hands at six months' notice and repay them the capital expended." But the East India Co., did not enter into contract with the Sind Railway Co., without ascertaining the advisability of guaranteeing interest on such a venture. Accordingly they invited objections to the proposed line of Railway. Major Treemenheere put up his note of opposition on the ground that "the Railway would be an incubus under which the province will sink." Colonel John Jacob was opposed to the line as it was being projected with a view to extend it up to Lahore while he advocated the desirability of the line having the Bolan Pass as its northward terminus with a line from Sehwan—the distance between Kotri and Sehwin to be traversed by the Flotilla vessels. The observations of Col. Jacob were carefully considered and though his suggestions found favour and the Commissioner in Sind ordered a survey for a branch line from Sukkur *via* Shikarpur and Jacobabad to the Bolan Pass in 1858, his objections were not deemed such as to deter the East India Co., from guaranteeing a fixed rate of interest on the company's capital. Accordingly the Sinde Railway Company entered into a contract with the East India Company in December 1856. A little more than 2 years were taken to undertake extensive surveys and other preliminaries before the actual work was commenced. Mr. W. P. Andrews was elected Chairman of the Scinde Railway Co., and Mr. J. Neville Warren was appointed Agent of the Railway to supervise the works. In December 1856 the Scinde Railway Co., entered into a contract with Messrs. James and Edwin Bray, the eminent contractors of Leeds, for the construction of the Railway and they undertook to complete the works in just two years. On 29th April, 1858, the work of the First Railway in Sind was commenced with much imposing ceremony by the then highly respected Commissioner in Sind, Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B.

The work of constructing the First Railway in Sind began in right earnest as every one realised the importance and utility of the undertaking. As Mr. John Brunton, the Chief Engineer of the Sind Railway justly remarks: "The formation of the Scinde Railway will open up a magnificant field for commercial enterprise introducing civilization with all its attendant benefits." Though the Railway from Karachi to Kotri formed but the shortest section of the extensive scheme of communications con-

necting Karachi with Calcutta—railway from Karachi to Kotri, then by the Indus to Multan and again by rail to Lahore and Amritsar, the rest of the distance being traversed by the Delhi and the East Indian Railway—its peculiar importance was never put in the shade. It was graphically described as the 'neck of the funnel,' and it was rightfully observed that "over it must pass not only the whole of the existing traffic, but as the other sections are completed, the developed commerce of this vast territory (covered by the communication scheme) hitherto locked up will pour in upon it taxing its capabilities as a means of communication and doubtless realising the sanguine anticipations of its promoters." Though the work commenced under encouraging auspices, all did not go well with the erection of the Sind Railway and it was doubtful if the line would be ready for traffic within the prescribed period of two years. However, by January 1859 the line from the landing place at Kiamari to the company's workshops was completed without hitch or hindrance. Some time after this the contractors and the Scinde Railway Co. developed differences on important issues which forced the Company to put an early end to getting the whole works of the line executed by a firm of contractors and in June of that year undertook to get the line done departmentally by the company's engineers, inspectors, etc. The various officers of the company undertook the new arrangement with renewed vigour, but they had to contend with initial difficulties. The Sindhi born and bred as he is on the alluvial plains of the Indus where he obtains his daily requirements with the minimum amount of labour is indolent and devoid of muscular labour though he is not deficient in talent of easily acquiring a knowledge of account-keeping and writing. Thus Sind could not supply the required type of labour, and labour, skilled or otherwise was to be imported from the adjoining lands. The Cutchi was superior to the Sindhi in this respect. Cutch sent out carpenters, masons, smiths and skilled craftsmen to the whole of the northern regions of the Bombay Presidency. So, skilled labour for the Sind Railway was secured from Cutch. On the other hand the hills of Baluchistan and Afghanistan bred a hardy race of labourers, men of great stature and personal strength but unaccustomed to using any other tools than the powrah—(a kind of hoe)—and the basket for carrying loosened earth. Lands to the immediate west thus easily supplied the large mass of unskilled labourers for the Railway. Though the required labour had been secured, there had taken place a lot of mismanagement which resulted in a lot of discontent among the labourers. Discontent drove labour away and the wages rose as the demand for labour was more than the supply. Wages shot up pretty high which made the execution of the line pretty costly. The main cause of labour dissatisfaction was the irregularity of payment to labour. The labourer's confidence can be retained only by paying him regularly. Once that was shaken, the retention of requisite labour became impossible. When the Company undertook to get the line laid by its own officers, the labour problem had already become acute. The energetic officers of the Railway Co. put their heads to meet the situation and they came to the ready conclusion that for securing an economical execution of the works a fair tariff of wages with a guarantee of regular daily payments was all that was necessary. Accordingly a sche-

dule of wages with a guarantee of payment under the signature of the Company's engineers was issued and labour returned to work. The Company's officers had to face another initial difficulty which arose out of the great dearth of the ordinary railway plant, but this too was soon got over.

Soon after the work had been renewed under the new management, some problems presented themselves which were however easily solved by the co-operation and concerted action of the Railway officers and the Sind Government. For the easy securing and maintenance of a large mass of men offering inducements to labour was a matter of necessity and the Railway management were ever alert to keep the labourers happy. The best of all inducements to labour is the lure of higher wages than the average. This the Company's engineers offered to their workers, though the schedule of wages published by them fell short by full 25 per cent. than the rates Messrs. Bray & Co. used to give—of course irregularly. Other inducements which policy no less than humanity required referred to the food, helter and general health of the labourer. All such attentions the labourer was bound to appreciate whatever his race, for they amounted to unheard of luxuries for him and thereafter he was likely to put forth an effort converting his work into a labour of love rather than a mere compensation for his sweat. It was rather difficult to obtain good food on the line as it avoided all the towns and important villages of the district so that the Railway may not have to cross too many canals and such other works. On this account procuring good quality foods for labour at reasonable rates along the line was found requisite. The company accordingly licensed a number of banias to open shops at various points on the condition that the rates they would charge would be controlled by the nearest kardar in consultation with the Railway Magistrate. At the same time the water supply problem had also to be solved. Due to the bad quality of water obtained at various points labour suffered from all types of recurrent fevers and cholera which greatly hampered the progress of the line. For removing this difficulty and thus warding off disease a regular system of water carts and bullocks, and subsequently when the line permitted, water trains were organised from Malir, the Baran and the Indus to supply the various gangs working on the line with wholesome water—to the great relief of the workers. Another fruitful source of disease was the heavy dews at night and this problem was got over by providing the labourers with mat-huts. And yet disease persisted though mildly and had to be combated. For this purpose permanent hospitals for medical aid were established at the two termini Karachi and Kotri and two temporary hospitals were organised at Dabeji and Jungshahi with a resident apothecary at each place. Thus the health of the workers was well-preserved. Above all "half wild and unaccustomed to the restraints of a more civilized state" labour required to be handled tactfully and a strong arm was found necessary to keep them in order. To answer this requirement a Railway Police Force of 80 men was organised and distributed into several Police Stations all along the line. For facilitating administration of justice the Government appointed a special Railway Magistrate who was required to be moving up and down the line dealing with the offenders at each station. This facility for obtaining justice and

the rapidity with which punishment followed crime had a salutary effect on the workers and only a few outrages of a serious character were ever reported during the long period of three years that the line was under erection. Majority of the cases reported were of petty thefts and attempts at illegal impositions.

The work on the line proceeded satisfactorily and systematically. The workmen worked in gangs under a self-elected mukadam or ganger whose orders they cheerfully obeyed and to whom they willingly paid a small percentage from each rupee they earned. Thus the work of the engineers was greatly facilitated as they had to deal with these few gangers instead of the large number of individual labourers. They entered into agreements for work to be done with these gangers. This greatly lightened their task as, most of the responsibility for getting work done lay on the mukadams. Although labour on daily wages would have been economical but in such cases everything depends on the honesty of the mukadams. Experience however taught the Railway management to resort to the piece-work system as this scheme obtained more favourable results.

The distance traversed by the First Railway in Sind was 108 miles and 10 chains. (80 chains=1 mile). For 32 miles and 50 chains the line passed through a level plain while the remaining distance of 75 miles 40 chains was covered by inclines more or less favourable. The total length of the line running straight was 74 miles 22 chains, the remaining distance of 33 miles 68 chains being taken up by curves. In light of the railway lines to be seen these days the erection of the first Railway in this Province may seem a very small undertaking, but if one directs his attention to the Railway lines in England of that day, the first Railway in Sind compares very favourably. The Karachi-Kotri line had the same length as that of the Great Western from London to Bath, 108 miles. The Sind Railway was very nearly equal to the line from London to Birmingham (113 miles) and was nearly twice the length of the London-Brighton line. The first Railway in Sind had earth works for accommodating a single line, but all the bridges, culverts and stone girder viaducts and stone piers were constructed to carry a double line though only a single line was actually laid. The only portion of the double line attempted on this Railway was between the workshops at Ghizri Junction and the terminus at the Bunder Head—a distance of 3 miles and 15 chains. The Sind Railway gave off only one branch line worth the name that leaving the main line near the Railway workshops to the Timber pier at Ghizri for accommodating the traffic coming to Karachi from the Eastern Delta of the Indus in the period of the South West Monsoon during which the delta was closed for traffic. (In the Gazeteer of Sind of 1876 it is mentioned that there were six branch lines and there were 45 miles of sidings. The rest of the direct line measured 106 miles). The permanent way consisted of ordinary double-headed rail, weighing 65 lbs. per yard, fixed by compressed wooden keys in chairs each weighing 22 lbs.; the joints being fished in the usual way, the fish plates being secured by four bolts each one inch in diameter. The whole was led on traverse wooden sleepers of red and white pine creosoted,

sent from England and deodar timber of the Himalayan slopes, 10" broad and 5" deep at intervals of 3', the distance being reduced to 2 at the joints. The line was enclosed throughout. The majority of the fencing consisted of a dry rubble stone wall 4' high 1' 10½" thick at the base and 15" at the top with a coping of stones on edge set in mortar. But since the requisite materials were difficult to obtain, the fencing from Landhi to Guggur, a distance of 15 miles was done in five strand wire. (Sind Gazeteer mentions 30 miles of wire fencing)

Although the particular route taken by the Railway was adopted with a view to avoid the crossing of canals and consequent creation of many bridges, etc. the Railway was allowed to cross the natural drainage of an extensive hilly tract, necessitating the building of a large number of culverts and viaducts. The provision of water ways proved to be quite a tough problem for the engineers as the rainfall in the region was irregular and the records throwing light on the subject were not available. All that the engineers had to rely upon was the careful examination of the old flood marks. On the Sind Railway were erected 46 culverts with 191 openings of 2'6" each; 2 culverts with 2 openings of 3' each; 2 culverts with two openings of 6' each; 113 culverts with 329 openings of 8'6" each; 5 culverts with 9 openings of 10' each; 18 culverts with 53 openings of 12' each and 2 culverts with 2 openings of 15' each. The smaller opening culverts were erected by the rails being carried over by placing ordinary sleepers upon stone piers, the rails themselves bridging the opening. In the case of bigger openings the ordinary permanent way was carried upon teak timber beams 12 inch square in section supporting a platform of planks 4" thick below the sleepers to carry a thin layer of ballast, protecting the platform from fire and forming a footway across the openings. In such cases the timber was carefully painted over by dammar or pitch laid very hot. The culverts with the biggest openings were built of stone with pitched inverts and aprons. There had to be erected on the line 19 bridges containing 48 arches, each of 20' span, one bridge of 3 arches each of 30' span, two bridges of 10 arches each of 40' span and two bridges of 4 arches each of 45' span. There were also viaducts with iron girders 80' span each erected over the Malir river with 21 spans, the Guggur with 3 spans, the Dabeji with 2 spans, Ranpitiani with 6 spans, Loyet with 8 spans and Radh with 3 spans. The bridges over the Malir and the Baran take the first rank both as regards their size and importance. The viaduct across the Baran was 1728' in length. Its greatest height from the bed of the river to the rails was 31'6" though the average height was only 25'6". The superficial measurement of the bridged area was 44,064 sq. ft. It consisted of 32 arches 45 ft. span each. It was a stone viaduct, the heaviest piece of masonry along the line and the builders took 22½ months to complete it. The stone used in this viaduct and at all places on the line where masonry work was resorted to was obtained from the hills lying north of the Indus and at the foot of the Hala range specially the Khetriani hills, which were composed of pale arenaceous limestone containing but few nummulites, easily workable and admirable building stone hardening with exposure. The total cost of the Baran viaduct was Rs 2,71,856-6-8. The Malir viaduct was the most extensive iron girdered via

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

duct on the line with 21 spans 80′ each. It cost Rs. 4,82,250. Many of the bridges and culverts on the line proved to be a source of endless trouble and expense to the Railway Co. owing to the violent nature of the freshes after rainfall and insufficiency of the water way to carry off the flood water. The line suffered from floods in the very year it was opened for traffic and again in the following year costing Rs. 7 lakhs as repair charges. In 1866 several bridges on the line suffered severely on account of floods. The 10 piers of the Malir viaduct had to be rebuilt and raised 6′ in height costing more than 3½ lakhs of rupees. Again in 1869 the Malir Bridge was seriously damaged, the repairs on the occasion costing Rs. 1,12,719.

On the Sind Railway there were only 7 stations exclusive of the 2 termini Karachi and Kotri and they were the Frere Street Station or the Cantonment Station, Jamadar ki Landhi, Dabeji, Doraji Gore, Jungshahi, Jhimpir and Radh. There were also some passing places such as Meting and Bolari (the Sind Gazetteer says that there were only six stations, *viz.*, Malir, Dabeji, Jungshahi, Jhimpir, Meting and Bolari). Except for the Karachi Station buildings, the rest were of masonry construction, the Jungshahi station being a solid stone construction, and being midway between Karachi and Kotri was provided with a refreshment room. Karachi and Kotri station buildings were temporary erections and were to remain as such till the contemplated through traffic came into force and justified more substantial edifices. Karachi was provided with two stations to accommodate the people of different localities. For the people of the Old Town and Garrikhata was meant the McLeod Road Station or the present City Station. And to the residents in the Cantonments, Saddar Bazar and Civil Line quarters and above all for the elite of the Frere Town Quarter was to be made readily accessible the Frere Street Station or as it is now called the Cantonment Station.

The Railway was also provided with two lines of wire all along the line carried on deodar timber posts, fixed in cast iron sockets. The block system of working trains was adopted on the Sind Railway and the needle speaking instruments were utilized for conveying information required between several stations and passing places. The combination of the train signalling machine and the speaking telegraph on the Sind Railway followed as a measure of economy was a great source of danger. The signalman had to trust to the verbal instructions he received from the telegraph clerk who invariably combined the offices of the telegraph clerk and the Station Master, and, therefore, his superior. The telegraph clerks were generally found occupying the speaking machine and at the same time amusing themselves with a conversation, oftentimes never minding the delay in transmitting or conveying even important messages, and when it is noticed that the clerks appointed were often "deficient in the important point of understanding the messages they transmit or receive" though they were employed after passing a preliminary test, there was every likelihood of the miscarriage or misinterpretation of the message for the signalman with far-reaching consequences when the telegraph clerk could well afford to put the blame on the signalman. There was another difficulty in the organisa-

tion instituted by the Sind Railway Co. with regard to signalling. Economy had dictated the appointment of only a single signalman at each station even when the signalling stations were situated in isolated places with the result that if the signalman of a station fell ill or otherwise was rendered unable to perform his duties, the messages which were necessary for being conveyed could not be sent in time. These deficiencies were noticed quite early and were soon remedied. There arose another difficulty and that was with regard to the scarcity of water fit for use in the locomotive engines. Though there were nine stations on the line, the question had finally to be decided only by analysing the water specimens and deciding which stations could provide the best suited water with least consequent harm.

The Sind Railway Co. in laying down the line from Karachi to Kotri had found it necessary to erect extensive workshops without which unnecessary delay and excessive costs were likely to be incurred as the nearest place for all repairs, even petty ones, and for obtaining even the ordinary railway parts was Bombay which place also offered only a few facilities in this respect. The pushing forward of goodly and tolerable workshops proved of great avail in the construction of the line. At the junction of the main line and the Gizri branch on a generally rising ground in the Frere Town Quarter were situated the extensive locomotive erecting and repairing shops of the Sind Railway Company. The blacksmith's shop alone measured 245'x47' and the Carriage Department Shop was even larger being 245' long and 137' broad. The workshops consisted of a saw mill, smiths', fitters, heavy and light tool shops, iron and brass foundaries, with engine and carriage erecting shops all furnished with the requisite machinery and with tools driven by steam power. The rolling stock of the Sind Railway, when it was ready for traffic comprised of 25 engines and 140 vehicles. The goods traffic wagons outnumbered those for public traffic. The efficient organisation of the works was surrounded with many difficulties as due attention had to be paid to economy. It was not possible to man the shops by Europeans only as it would prove too costly for the Company. Hence efficient Indian assistance became necessary. The Cutch carpenters and other skilled workers were found suitable but were very conservative. They would work only with their own tools and in their own manner though more efficient and easily workable western tools were offered to them and a new mode of work which would cause less strain to the body was at their disposal. It was found that the Indian method of work was comparatively slow and was proving costly and at the same time the workers occupied a larger area for their work. It was therefore an uphill task for the English foreman to induce the Cutch workers to take to European tools and mode of work and at long last he succeeded in the attempt. Henceforward the carriages that the Indian skilled workers erected displayed workmanship which would have been a credit to the best European manufactory of the times. For keeping up a supply of European foremen, fitters, engine erectors and drivers, the system of taking apprentices on the following liberal terms proved a success as the sons of European soldiers and clerks in Government offices, intelligent lads with a goodly bit of knowledge, were anxious to join the new enter-

prise. Four months preliminary trial Rs. 4 per month, first year from the date of indentures Rs. 30 per mensem, second year Rs. 40 p.m., 3rd year Rs. 50 per mensem, 4th year Rs. 60 per mensem and 5th year Rs. 80 per mensem.

The total cost of the Sind Railway came to be about Rs. 1,50,000 per mile. The average cost per mile of Railways in India at the time was Rs. 1,50,000. The slight excess of cost of the Sind Railway was due to a number of peculiarities and difficulties. The following were some of them:—(1) Considerable difficulty in procuring from England freight for the materials, since the port of Karachi was not much known at the time and it became necessary to investigate and publish the capabilities of the port to resolve the initial difficulty.

(2) The Sind Railway comprised in proportion to its length a more than usually large number of such works as piers, wharves, etc. which did not originally belong to the railways. The Railway had two expensive termini and for the accommodation of the Flotilla vessels at Kotri alone 3,000 to 4,000 feet of wharves had to be constructed.

(3) There arose difficulties when the materials arrived in India. The Railway Company had even to provide its own boats in unloading the vessels.

(4) There was considerable amount of earth works on the line. The earth works were not of a soft character as is usually the case in alluvial plains. Majority of the excavations were through hard rocks requiring the use of gun powder. Many of the embankments were formed from side cuttings in rock as no softer material could be obtained and the embankments were built up with the stone so quarried from the side cuttings.

(5) Haulage of materials was an important item of expenditure.

(6) The line crossed the natural drainage of an extensive hilly district requiring large viaducts, bridges and culverts.

(7) And above all due to a deficiency of obtaining requisite labour locally, higher wages had to be paid to induce outside workers to complete the required quota. At a meeting of the Institute of Civil Engineers held in April 1863 when a paper on the Sind Railway was read by Mr. John Brunton, Mr. Bruce objected to the high cost of the Sind Railway. He felt that it was too much for a poor country like India! He suggested reduction of cost but when the author of the paper and Mr. W. P. Andrews, the Chairman of the Sind Railway Co. pointed out the difficulties the Company had to face, Mr. Bruce sought refuge in the observation that the pioneer works had always to bear the brunt and pave the way for future economies.

Thus completed the Sind Railway was to be managed by the following staff:

One Deputy Agent who was also to be the head of the Indus Flotilla, one Chief Engineer with an Assistant; one Superintendent of Railway Workshops; one Traffic Assistant; an Auditor; a Store-Keeper and one Deputy Consulting Engineer who was to be an officer of the Government. The first Railway in Sind came to be ready for traffic after three years of insistent labour and the line was opened for traffic on 13th May, 1861 by J. Duncan Inverarity, Esquire, the Commissioner-in-Sind.

As soon as the first Railway in the valley of the Indus had started on its career, the people of the province became alive to the advantages which would accrue to them by using the Railway. So much did the people appreciate the regularity and the certainty of railway communication that the boats on the Indus which were formerly in the habit of coming to the delta port Keti, the port of transhipment both for Bombay and Karachi, now no longer came below Kotri where the goods were transhipped and conveyed by rail to Karachi. Within 2 years of the working of the Sind Railway the chairman of the Railway Co. could observe at a public meeting that there was a length of 2 miles of boats collected at Kotri to unload their cargoes for the Railway. The traffic on the Sind Railway can be gauged from the following figures:—

In 1861, 40,729 passengers, 223 belonging to the 1st class, 2,459 to the II class and the rest to the III class travelled by the Railway. In the same year 16,520 tons of goods were carried by the Railway. In 1865, 111,180 passengers, 1,809 1st class, 4,426 2nd class and the rest III class utilised the Railway for traffic. In the same year the Railway was responsible for conveying 112,726 tons of goods. In 1870 the Railway carried 95,175 passengers, 1,786 Ist class, 3,970 IInd class and the rest IIIrd class and 75,495 tons of goods. In 1874 the Railway was responsible for conveying 73,668 passengers, 1,660 Ist class, 2,899 IInd class and the rest IIIrd class and correspondingly conveyed a load of 99,358 tons of goods. Passenger and goods traffic was particularly heavy during 1867-68 on account of the military expedition organised against Abyssinia. The income of the Sind Railway Co. during the years referred above was as follows:—

In 1861 receipts amounted to Rs. 164,043, Rs. 76,295 being the contribution of the goods traffic. In 1865 the receipts came to Rs. 9,03,471, the goods traffic share being Rs. 6,75,581. In 1870 the total receipts of the Sind Railway Co. came to Rs. 8,46,494, the goods traffic accounting for Rs. 6,86,721. And in 1874 the total realisations were Rs. 8,18,604 of which Rs. 6,67,323 were contributed by the goods traffic. Thus the Sind Railway had served the objects contemplated—it had succeeded in relieving the commerce of the country from its greatest dangers by substituting a Railway of 108 miles for the 230 miles of creek navigation. In the like manner it had proved its utility from a political and military point of view by making it possible to move troops in a few hours from Kotri to Karachi or *vice versa* where a week was required formerly.

Thus brought into operation, the Sind Railway has been extending its helping hand to larger masses of humanity with the passage of time.

SOME ANCIENT TRIBES OF SAPTA SINDHU.

By N. M. Billimoria.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on the 6th April* 1944.

THE GANDHARAS.

Gandhara formed an integral part of India from the earliest time of Indo-Aryan civilization; it is a unique country in India for its history can be traced without any break from Rigvedic times down to the present day. The Gandharis or the people of Gandhara are mentioned in the hymns of the *Rigveda*: Gandhara reads in other Vedic works, in the Epics and Purans, also in Buddhist books.

Gandhara was on the north west frontiers;the neighbouring tribes were the Kambojas, Madras and others. Gandhara comprised the modern districts of Peshawar in the N. W. Frontier Province and Rawalpindi in the Punjab; but in old Persian inscriptions it seems to include also the district of Kabul in Afghanistan; Rhys Davids says that Gandhara (modern Kandhar) was the district of East Afghanistan, probably including the North-West Punjab. Vincent Smith concurs with this view taking that Gandhara was equivalent to the north-west Punjab and the adjoining regions. Edward Meyer in his article on Persia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* writes: "The dividing line between Iranian and Indian is drawn by the Hindu-Kush and the Soliman mountains of the Indus district. The valley of the Kabul (Cophen) is already occupied by Indian tribes, especially the Gandarians; and the Satagydae (Persian Thatagu) there resident were presumably also of Indian stock. Professor Meyer expressly adds that Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus (Hindu Kush) and in the Kabul Valley the Gandarians; Darius himself advanced as far as the Indus. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in his *Ancient India* states that Gandhara was equivalent to East Afghanistan, extending from the Afghan mountains to the district somewhat to the east of the Indus. Dr. Bandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures* holds that Gandhara included the western Punjab and East Afghanistan; its capital was Taxila whereruins are spread near Sarakala in the Rawalpindi District of the Punjab. In the *Ain-i Akbari* Gandhara forms the district of Pulely lying between Kashmir and Attock. N. L. Dey in his *Geographical Dictionary* says: Gandhara comprised the modern district of Peshawar and Hoti Murdan, that is the Eusofzai country. Cunningham in the *Ancient Geography* relying on the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hein and Hsuan Tsang gives the boundaries of Gandhara as follows: Laghman and Jalalabad on the west; on the north the hills of Swat and Bunir; the Indus on the East; and the hills of Kalabagh on the south. Let us see what the Greek writers say about this; Strabo puts the country of the Gandarai, which he calls Gandaritis, between the Khoaspes (Kunar) and the Indus, and along the river Kophes (Kabul). It must have been known to the Greeks as early as the time of Hekataios, who called Kaspapyros a "Gandaric City." Herodotus mentions the Gandarioi.

Rennell in his "*Memoir of a map of Hindustan*" placed the people to the west of Bactria in the province afterwards called Margiana; while Wilson took them to be the people south of the Hindu Kush, from about the modern Kandhar to the Indus, and extending into the Punjab and to Kashmir."

From the above, it appears that the boundaries of the country varied at different times of its history. At one time it included the Afghan district round Kandhar, but afterwards it receded to the mountains on the Indian frontier.

The Vedic Aryans in very ancient times had a knowledge of the Gandharis for in the *Rigveda* the long wool of the sheep reared by the Gandharis is referred; Lomasa the queen of King Bhavya, who ruled on the banks of the Sindhu (Indus) says to her husband "I am covered with down like a ewe of the Gandharins."

In the *Atharvaveda* Takman or fever is consigned to the Gandharis and Mujavants, the Angas and Magadhs; the two latter are tribes of Bihar. Macdonell & Keith in the Vedic Index explain that the latter two tribes are apparently the Eastern limit of the poet's knowledge; the two former the Northern."

In the Brahmana literature also we find mention of the Gandharis.

I quote from *Chandogya Upanishad*, 6-14. "Just as, my dear, one might lead away from the Gandharas a person with his eyes bandaged and then abandon him in an uninhabited place; as there he might be blown forth either to the east, to the north, or to the south, since he had been led off with his eyes bandanged and deserted with his eyes bandaged; (2) as, if one released his bandage and told him: "In that direction are the Gandharas; go in that direction," he would, if he were a sensible man, by asking his way from village to village, and being informed, arrive home at the Gandharas—even so here on earth one who has a teacher knows; "I belong here only so long as I shall not be released (from the body). Then I shall arrive home."

The next period of Vedic literature is the period of the *Sutras*. The purpose of the *Sutras*, so called from the word sutra, thread, is to afford clue through the mazes of Brahmanical learning contained in the Brahmanas. We find people of Gandhara mentioned in the *Sutras*. Rapson in the first volume of *Cambridge History of India* writes: "At the end of the sixth century B.C. early in the period to which the *Sutras* belong, the Persian Empire held two provinces in N. W. India—Gandhara, the present districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi, and the "Indian" province, that is to say the country of the lower Indus."

The *Mahabharata* has many references about Gandhara. A king of the Kurus married the daughter of Suvala, king of Gandhara. We read that Arjun went to the Punjab where he had a great fight with the son of Sakuni, King of Gandhara. The Gandharan army was put to flight, but Arjun spared the life of Sakuni's son.

The Gandharas under the command of their king Sakuni formed a powerful part of the Kuru army. They gave great support riding on their fast horses. They like their neighbours the Kambojas reared a large number of horses, and fought on horseback.

The Gandharis are also mentioned in the Puranas.

In the days of Asoka and his immediate followers Gandhara was one of the most flourishing seats of Buddhism. From the Rock Edict we find that Asoka appointed Dharma-Mahamatras (high officers in the department of dharma or religious conduct) to further the welfare and happiness of the Gandharas.

Fa Hien visited India in the fifth century A.D. states that Dharmavivardhana, son of Asoka, ruled there. (Gandhara).

Hsuan Tsang visited India in the seventh century A.D. He has described the ruined state of monasteries and shrines which two hundred years ago were standing perfect. According to him, the kingdom of Gandhara was about 1,000 li (a li is equal to 576 metres) from north to south. On the east it bordered on the river Sin (Sindhu). The capital was called Po-lu-sha-pu-lo, *i.e.* Purusapura. The royal family was extinct, and the kingdom was ruled by deputies from Kapisa. The towns and villages were deserted, but the country was rich in cereals, and sugarcane and produced a variety of fruits and flowers. The Chinese pilgrim continues: "The climate is warm and moist. The disposition of the people is timid and soft; they love literature, and while most of them belong to heretical schools a few believe in the true law, *i.e.* Buddhism. "In the town of Pi-lo-tu-lo, *i.e.* Salatula, he observes, Panini was born.

The early capitals of Gandhara were Pushkalavati, that is "abounding in lotuses," and Taxila. The former stood on the west, and the latter to the east of the Indus. In early times Gandhara territory lay on both the sides of the Indus, but McCrindle says it was later confined to the western side. The Chinese pilgrim knew Purusapura, *i.e.* Peshawar as the capital but we find in Rapson's Ancient India that during the time of Greek rule, Kapisa was the capital of Gandhara.

The Chinese name for Taxila, the eastern capital was Shi-shi-ch'eng, that is "severed head." The legend runs that when Budha was in this city he gave his head away in charity, and the city took its name from this occurrence.

Arrian describes the city as great, wealthy and populous. Strabo and Hsuan Tsang praise the fertility of the soil. Pliny calls it a famous city. Asoka took the city after Taxila's submission to Alexander the Great. In the second century B.C. it became the province of Graeco-Bactrian monarchy. It was conquered in B.C. 126 by Indo-Sythian Sus or Arabs; then in B.C. 78 it was taken under Kaniska. About the middle of the 5th century A.D. it was visited by Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis; the city is described as about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city; but the streets were narrow though well arranged. Taxilla must have been destroyed long before the Mahomedan invasion, for no Mahomedan author who has written upon India, has made any mention of it.

Cunningham says that Taxila was near Shah-dheri one mile north east of Kala-ka-sarai, in the extensive ruins of a fortified city, around which no less than 55 stupas, 28 monasteries and 9 temples could be traced. Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Carmichael Lectures* states that in Asoka's time Taxila was not the capital of Gandhara for Gandhara was not in Asoka's dominions proper, but was feudatory to him. This is confirmed by Ptolemy who states that Gandharai country was situated to the west of the Indus with its city Proklais, *i.e.* Pushkaravati.

Hsuan Tsang visited Taxila in the seventh century A.D. when it was a dependency of Cashmir.

Taxila figures prominently in Buddhist *Jatakas* and Jain stories. It is associated with Mahavira the founder of Jainism. In ancient India Taxilla was a great seat of learning. Various arts and sciences were taught there and students from different parts of India went there. Here magic charms and spells for understanding the cries of animals were taught. Only Brahmins and Ksatriyas were admitted to the university.

Prof. Rapson in his *Ancient India* states that Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) conquered Gandhara, and it remained under the Persians for about 200 years. Alexander the Great took, in B.C. 331, it under his sway together with the Persian province of 'India' or 'the country of the Indus.' Then Gandhara became a feudatory of Asoka; then it fell under Greek Kings. From *a catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum* prepared by Whitehead we find that Euthydemos (about 230-195 B.C.) conquered Gandhara. R. D. Banerji presumes that it was Diodotus II who had conquered, as some gold coins of his reign were discovered by Sir John Marshall in the ruins of Taxila. Whitehead's supposition is more correct for Gandhara was under Murya empire till Asoka's death in B.C. 227, for the house of Diodotos was supplanted by Euthydemos in 230 B.C.

A Greek prince Eucratides (B.C. 175-155) snatched Gandhara with other territories from Demetrios the 4th Bactrian king. Then came the Saka satraps in Kapisa and Taxila; they were finally overpowered by the Kushanas. At the end of 5th century A.D. Gandhara was occupied by the

Hunas. We come to the 9th century when Lalliya founded the Hindu Shahiya dynasty, and established Ohind on the Indus as his capital. In 1021 A.D. the last king of the Shahiya dynasty was defeated on the banks of the river Tosi by Sultan Mahomed of Gazni. After this no account is found of the Hindu Rule in Gandhara, except Bhimpal ruled for 5 years there.

We will end this paper after shortly speaking about the trade relations of Gandhara. The *Jatakas* show trade relations between Kashmir-Gandhara kingdom and the north eastern kingdom of Videha. Rapson's *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, page 317, writes about the Videhas as one of the numerous clans possibly of Tibeto-Chinese origin, who inhabited Tirhut (the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga in N. Bihar.) The Gandharan traders were mostly horse-dealers, for Gandharan horses were considered the best of all. Valuable blankets or woollen shawls were provided there. From Brown's Coins of India we find that it was in Gandhara that the finest "double die" coins were struck.

THE SIBIS.

The Sibis or Sivas were very ancient people. They were a small tribe occupying some tract in the Western Punjab; from which place they migrated to Sind and Rajputana and southwards as far as the Chola country.

They are alluded to in the *Rigveda* (VII, 18, 7), where the Sivas are the same people as the Sibis; King Sudas defeated them with four other tribes. I may state that the "war of the ten kings" was a struggle between the Aryans (under Sudas) and the pre-Aryans; in which case the Sibis or Sivas were not Aryans but probably Sumerians. The Sivas maintained their independent position for considerable time for they are referred to in Alexander's time by Greek Geographers and historians. The Sivas of the *Rigveda* are identified with the Sibai or Siboi of the Greeks who dwelt between the Indus and the Akesines (Asikni of the *Rigveda* modern Chandrabhaga or Chenab) in Alexander's time.

Arrian in his *Indica* writes. "When the Army of Alexander came among the Sibai, an Indian tribe, and noticed that they wore skins, they declared that the Sibai were descended from those who belonged to the expedition of Herakles, and had been left behind; for besides being dressed in skins, the Sibai carry a cudgel, and brand on the backs of their oxen the representation of a club, wherein the Macedonians recognised a memorial of Herakles. Arrian further adds "If any one believes all this, this must be another Heraklès, not the Theban, but either the Tyrian or the Egyptian, or even some great king who belonged to the upper country which lies not far from India. From their dress and weapons it can be supposed that the tribe belonged to a racial group not disinctly Aryan. They had 40 000 foot soldiers at the time of Alexandar.

Reference is found in Sankrit literature, where Sivapura or "town of the Sivas" is mentioned. This Sivapura must be identical with Sibipura, mentioned in a Shorkot Inscription; and Dr. Vogel thinks that the mound of Shorkot to be the site of the city of the Sibis. Another scholar points out that local tradition also connects Shorkot with Siva. It may be concluded that the Sivas or Sibis were a people inhabiting the Shorkot region in Jhang in the Punjab, lying between the Iravati and Chandrabhaga, and therefore included in the northern region or Uttarapatha.

The Sibis migrated or sent one of their offshoots to the south to Rajputana; it is not known when this movement took place. Some coins found near Chitore in Rajputana show that the Sibis had a habitat near that place; it was a sort of republican state. In one of Jatakas we find that the Ruler of the Sibis was forced to banish Prince Vessantara, compelled by the people; this was not an absolute republic but a democratic institution.

The Sivas or Sibis were intimately connected with the Usinaras, who are assigned to the Madhyadesa or middle country. It is probable that the Usinara country was at one time the habitat of the Sibis.

King Sivi Ausinara bears a name for piety and humanity. A very popular fable of the hawk and the pigeon shows king's spirit of self sacrifice.

Still later the Sivis seem to have migrated to the extreme south. A well-known writer identified them with the Chola ruling family.

THE DARADAS.

This was a north-western tribe of India well-known both in foreign and local traditions. The Epic and Puranic traditions locate the Daradas in the north-west along with north-west frontier of Kashmir and contiguously with the kingdom of the Khasas in the Upper Punjab. They were a mountainous tribe for "mountain" is the commonest meaning of the word *darad* from which they appear to have derived their name.

The Greek writers knew them by various names. Strabo called them Derdau; Pliny as Dardae. Ptolemy refers them as Daradrai; he locates them east of the Lambatai, *i.e.* Lampak or Lamghan, and of Sonestane, that is basin of the Swat river and to the north of the uppermost course of the Indus. The mountains in the country of the Daradas he says are of surpassing height.

THE BARBARAS.

The Barbaras a barbarian tribe are mentioned in the Mahabharata with other tribes, which were located in the Uttarapath, or northern country. The *Markandeya Puran* places them in the Sindhi country, and another Sanskrit work places them as a north or north-western tribe.

The commentary on *Arthasastra* has some important remarks on the Barbara country, and its river Srotasi, which was a source of pearls. Alakanda, a city famous for its pearls was situated on this river. There was also a lake named Srighanta in a corner of the sea of Barbara Mazumdar in his *Ancient Geography* of India says that Alakanda is a remnant of Alexander's name, and he identifies the city with Alexander's Haven. Vincent A. Smith in his *Early History of India* points out that the large lake at the mouth of the river where Alexander's Haven stood (near Karachi) still exists. This lake may be identified with the lake Srighanta mentioned in the Arthasastra commentary.

Mazumdar remarks in the same work that Barbara is mentioned in two Ayurvedic works. This Barbarika is the Barbarei of Ptolemy. It is evidently the Barbaricum or Barbaricon emporium mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.* It was at that time a market town and port; it was situated on the middle mouth of the river Indus, and included in the Saka country whose metropolis was Minnagar. Barbarika and Patala formed the two towns of the islands of the Indus Delta. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India* identified Patala with Brahmanabad.

About BARBARICUM, W. H. Schoff, the annotator of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* writes: "The name is evidently Hellenized from some Hindu word—one suspects Bandar, port, or possibly some name such as Bahardipur, which survives in the modern Delta. With the steady silting of the Delta, the remains of this port are probably yards deep in the soft alluvium, and very likely quite away from any of the present branches of the river.

About Indus trade, Schoff states yet a part of the Chinese trade, apparently localized at the mouth of the Indus. While the valuable silk cloth went to Barygaza, the yarn, or thread, went to Barbaricum, where it was exchanged for a product always more highly valued in China than in India—namely frankincense; the white incense, or Shehri luban, which Marco Polo still found in extensive use in China under the name of "milk perfume." .....

THE SINDHU-SAUVIRAS.

The Sauviras were an ancient people. Their country is mentioned as early as *Dharmasutra.* It was at that time considered an impure country, outside the limits of Aryandom. The Aryans who happened to go there were required to perform a sacrifice of purification when they returned. In later times, the Sauviras are often connected with their neighbouring tribe, the Sindus, and the joint name Sindhu-Sauvira, at once shows that the two tribes were later regarded as one and the same were settled on the Sindhu or the Indus.

These two tribes have played an important part in the Kuruksetra War. In the Mahabharat mention is made of a Greek overlord of Sauvira;

he must be one of those Indo-Bactrian Princes who established themselves in the north and western portions of India between B.C. 200 and A.D. 200. According to the Ramayan the Sindhu-Sauviras were settled in the western division of India.

A Sanskrit work describes Sovira as a great sea port; it is likely as Cunningham suggests that the country is identical with the famous Sophir or Ophir of the Bible. Alberuni identifies Sauvira with Multan and Jahrawar.

Towards the middle of the second century A.D. the country of the Sindhus and Sauviras was administered by the Ksatrapa rulers of western India. The Rock Inscription of Junagadh refers to the Mahaksatrapa's conquest of Sindhu-Sauvira, along with modern Khandesh. The Ksatrapas had wrested the country from the Kusanas, possibly from one of the successors of Kaniska. After the Ksatrapas, the Guptas ruled, and later the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The country of the Sindhus, *i.e.* Sind was the first country that felt the impact of the raids of the Arabs. An eighth century copperplate grant of the Calukya Pulakesiraja refers to the Tajikas that is the Arabs as having defeated the Sindhavas and other tribes of Western India.

THE SUDRAS.

This tribe played some part in Ancient Indian History. They are mentioned several times in the *Mahabharat*, and *Purans*, and by Greek historians and Geographers. When Alexander the Great invaded India in B.C. 326, the Sudras were an important tribe. They were defeated by the Macedonian. Greek writers refer to them as SODRAI jointly with the Massanoi and Mousikaroi, all of whom occupied portion of modern Sind.

ABDUL GHAFOOR SHAH, A SINDHI ADVENTURER, AT THE COURT OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

By Muhammad Hanif Siddiqi.

There are many Sindhis at present who have distinguished themselves in different ways of life outside Sindh, but are practically unknown to their countrymen, except among their friends and relations. Nor is this a feature of modern times only. History records names of many Sindhis who rose to great heights and occupied responsible posts. Some of them are well-known, such as Abul Fazl and Faizi, two of the gems of Akbar's court. Others, like our hero, Abdul Ghafoor Shah of Thatta, were less favoured by time and circumstances. Though Sindh cannot be proud of him, it is well to form the acquaintance of the man whose name was a byeword in his time and who carried the Mughal Emperor in the palm of his hand, as it were, for nearly thirteen years.

In order to understand fully the life and history of this remarkable man, it is necessary to give a brief account of the times and conditions in which he lived and which favoured his rise and also saw his downfall.

The great Mughal Emperors, from Babar to Aurangzib, are all known for their long rule and still longer lives. The puppet Emperors who followed them rose and fell like bubbles. During twelve years, from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 A.D. to the accession of Jehandar Shah in 1719 A.D. there were as many as five Emperors (excluding Neku-Siyar) One of them ruled only for three months and nine days.

Aurangzib Alamgir (World Emperor), the last of the great Emperors died in his camp at Ahmednagar after a short illness, on the 3rd March, 1707, A.D. at the age of 91, and in the 51st year of his reign, and with him the sun of the house of Taimur set for ever. His death was a signal for a scramble for the throne, as had become usual on the death of each Mughal Emperor since Shah Jehan set the fashion. There was a fierce and bloody struggle between his three surviving sons—Muhammad Muazam, Muhammad Azam, and Muhammad Kambuz, in which the eldest Muhammad was victorious. He adopted the title of Bahadur Shah and ruled for about five years. He was succeeded by his son Jehandar Shah, who ascended the throne after deporting and slaying three of his brothers, including his second brother Azim Shah. Jehandar Shah gave himself up to a life of hectic pleasures and sensations. In the meantime his nephew, Azim Shah's son Farrukh Siyar proclaimed himself Emperor. In the fight that ensued Jehandar Shah was defeated by Farrukh Siyar with the help of the favour of Sayyid Brothers and Jehandar Shah passed out of history, his successor taking the extraordinary step of effacing his name from the annals of Mughal History and ordering his own accession to be reckoned from the death of Bahadur Shah.

Farrukh Siyar had gained the throne but he soon found that he had lost his liberty. He was completely at the mercy of the two unprincipled brothers. He was surrounded on all sides by these men and was not allowed to do anything on his own account. He could not even attend the Juma Prayers without their consent. He found the loss of liberty irksome and tried to break his bonds. This disgusted the Sayyids and he was deposed, blinded and put to death. The Sayyids were now at the height of their power. Their supremacy was unchallenged.

They decided to put Prince Bedar Dil on the throne but the Prince missed the throne and perhaps saved his life by a strange trick of destiny. When the Sayyid's men went to fetch the boy, the ladies of the harem were terrified. They barred the doors and hid the boy in a cupboard. An attempt was made to break the doors but the vacant throne was causing anxiety to the Sayyids and delay was dangerous. Another Prince (Rafi-ud-Darajat) was therefore brought out and set on the throne.

He was in an advanced stage of consumption and was deposed after an ephemeral rule of three months and ten days. He was succeeded by another consumptive (Rafi-ud-Daula) who died after a brief reign of four months and sixteen days.

The Sayyids' selection now fell on Prince Raushan Akhtar, son of Khayistan Akhtar, fourth son of Bahadur Shah, with whose reign we are now concerned. The Prince ascended the throne on 28th September, 1719 A.D., and assumed the title of Muhammad Shah. He was a handsome young boy of only 18 at the time. The Sayyids, as was their wont, tried to boss and bully him, but they soon paid the price of their presumption. Hasan Ali, the younger of the Sayyid brothers, was murdered by a rival faction with the connivance of the Emperor and the elder brother Abdullah, who rose in open rebellion was captured.

The Emperor was now free. After attending to some urgent affair of the State, he began to consider how best to employ his time and hard-won liberty.

In the pursuit of pleasures, the cares of office were soon neglected. The Emperor fell in the hands of worthless favourites and eunuchs, who ministered to his unworthy needs.

The chief of these favourites was Rahim-u-Nissa, popularly known as Koki Jiu (Foster-sister), daughter of a fortune-teller of old Delhi by name Jan Muhammad. Jan Muhammad acquired considerable influence over the ladies of the royal harem particularly the Nawab Qudsiya Begum, the Emperor's mother, and used to carry on correspondence with them through her daughter. But the clever daughter soon outstripped her father and acquired a direct hold upon the Emperor himself. She had a predominant voice in all state affairs. It is said that the Imperial Seals used to be in her

possession and were impressed on important documents by her on the Emperor's behalf. She made it so hot for Nizamul-Mulk, the minister, that he was compelled to resign his high office and retired to the Deccan. She sold offices publicly and it is presumed that considerable part of the money so acquired found its way into the privy purse of the Emperor.

Madame Koki's associates were Eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Raushan ud-Daula and our own hero Shah Abdul Ghafoor.

Abdul Ghafoor Shah was a native of Thatta. Though he held himself out to be a Sayyid, it is believed that he belonged to the honourable guild of weavers, Thatta cloth and lungis being in great demand at the time all over Asia. Such a transformation is however by no means unknown in Sindh. He had his training under a Hindu Yogi who lived on the summit of a hill. The Guru had great confidence in him and often sent him on important missions to the neighbouring chiefs and his other disciples. Soon the Yogi died and Abdul Ghafoor succeeded him. But the Sadhu's gadi was too narrow a field for this restless genius. Within a short time he was on his way to Kabul, where he changed the loincloth of a Hindu Sanyasi for the saffron robe of a Muhommadan Sufi and attached himself to the camp of Prince Muazzam (Emperor Bahadur Shah) who was then governor of Kabul. Here he formed the acquaintance of a eunuch who was also in the service of the Prince and who was to stand him in good stead later. In Kabul he gave early promise of what was to follow. He was accused of forgery and expelled. He then came to Lahore and resided there for some time. When Prince Muazzam marched to Agra to contest the throne with his brother Azam Shah, he again attached himself to the army and followed it from Lahore to Agra and from Agra to Hyderabad. He made the whole journey on foot, his wife riding a pack-bullock belonging to his former friend, the eunuch. It is not known exactly what he was doing with the army but he returned to Lahore in the same manner in which he had gone to the Deccan. He lived in obscurity during the reign of Bahadur Shah, no doubt maturing his plans and forming acquaintances which were to help him in his great career. In 1717 A.D., in the confusion that followed the death of Bahadur Shah, Abdul Ghafoor shifted to Delhi, where he took up quarters in an old mosque outside the city with one or two Sindhi followers.

Abdul Ghafoor had now embarked upon his great career. His training under the old Yogi was of great assistance to him. He began to write amulets which were hawked about the city by his Sindhi followers. His reputation steadily grew, the palace guards and the eunuchs of the imperial harem came to consult him and some of them became his desciples. His fame penetrated the palace and occasionally female dependants would come to him for amulets against sickness of the royal children. Some of these children recovered. It is very likely the sickness of the children was of his creation. Nawwab Kudsiya, a superstitious old lady, became his patron and he would interpret dreams for her. He struck up a friendship with Koki Jiu and they swore a solemn vow to stand by each other. Her

influence over the young Emperor has already been alluded to and she now pledged her word to the Begum that Abdul Ghafoor Shah was a saint and enjoyed supernatural powers. He, in turn, assured the Begum of the competency of Koki and her father. He formed the acquaintance of Muhammad Amin Khan, Itmad-ud-Daula, through the good offices of his eunuch and the recommendation of the Begum. Within a short time he acquired tremendous influence on this nobleman who believed implicitly in his claim of universal knowledge. Such was the glibness of his tongue. He was admitted to his patron's innermost counsels. So intimate did they become that the people came to believe that Muhammad Amin Khan had taken to Shah as his spiritual guardian.

Abdul Ghafoor played a prominent part in the intrigues that led to the assassination of the younger of the two Sayyid brothers Husain Ali Khan. He carried messages and letters of Muhammad Amin Khan to Muhammad Shah's private tents in the disguise of a milk-woman. Muhammad Amin Khan became the chief vazir on Husain's death. Abdullah Khan was defeated and captured soon after, as we have seen. The young Emperor was now free but he soon fell in the hands of worthless favourites. Muhammad Amin Khan did not live long to enjoy his triumph over the Sayed brothers. It was at this period that Abdul Ghafoor Shah attached himself to Koki's party.

Qamaruddin Khan son of Muhammad Amin succeeded his father as Vazir and though he did not fall under the spell of the Shah, he respected him out of consideration for his father's memory. Even the great Nizam-ul-Mulk who was at Delhi paid deference to his claims as a holy man.

Abdul Ghafoor and Koki were now all in all. They acquired great influence and accumulated enormous wealth. For twelve years they practically ruled the Court. Abdul Ghafoor's income from his offices alone is said to have been rupees five thousand a day, and even more from bribes. It is stated (Varid), that one-fourth of the money from the latter source was made over to the Emperor and the rest was divided equally between Koki and Abdul Ghafoor.

Abdul Ghafoor does not appear to have been popular. Such people rarely are. In spite of his great wealth he was miserly in the extreme. He was therefore hated by the people and the courtiers alike. But his son and daughter provoked even greater antipathy. The son's name was Abdul Rahim. A dissolute handsome young boy, he was raised to the rank of six thousand, a very great rank in the Mughal nobility. He led an extremely loose life and lusted for blood. He had no respect for human life and would kill a man on the smallest pretext. In fact he appears to have been a sort of sexual pervert. He would often dress himself as a loose woman, his hands and feet dyed with henna and his body covered with ornaments and jewels, a sword in his hand and a shield hung across his shoulder by a gold embroidered belt, and parade the streets preceded by mace-bearers and matchlock-men, with lighted torches. Sometimes he would ride out clad in complete armour from head to foot with a retinue similarly attired.

They would cut down every man who crossed their path or even blocked their way. But if the opposite side stood their ground they would show the white feather and seek safety in flight. At other times he would sit in front of his house and drink wine while nautch girls would sing and dance before him. He would then suddenly pull a shawl over his face and dance keeping time with rattle tied round his ankles. While this orgy was in progress guards would watch the street-entrance to prevent the passage of curious sight seers. If any body persisted he would be cut down; litters would be stopped and their occupants brought before him to be appropriated as he desired.

Ashob says: he spent large sums of money on the gratification of his unnatural passions. His sister is said to have been even more shameless.

At last the end came. One by one, the members of this gang fell from favour. In June 1732 A.D., Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, the enunuch, died. All his possessions were taken over by the Emperor. Koki lost her hold on the Emperor. She quarrelled with the Queen and her brother offended the King. She was asked to surrender all her money and she quietly submitted by sending the keys of her room in the Palace. Samsam-ud-Daula, who was plotting all along to bring about the downfall of this gang now brought a charge of embezzling money given to him for payments to keep the road to Kabul open, against Rushan-ud-Daula. Abdul Ghafoor Shah disgusted the Emperor by his pretentions-spiritual as well as temporal. There is some difference of opinion in the account of his downfall as given by Khusal and Varid, which came about in this way.

The first mis-understanding arose when one day the Emperor went to visit the shrine of Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar. Abdul Ghafoor had built a beautiful chapel near the tomb, which the Emperor wanted to inspect. He was told that the door had been locked and the keys taken away. This upset the Emperor and he ordered the door to be forced open.

At this time Abdul Ghafoor was master of the mint. His work was carried on by two men, Shaikh Muhammad Fazil and Motilal. But Shaikh Fazil left the mint to work the lease of Somepat Pargana, which he had taken from the Shah along with a loan of one lakh of rupees. The contract was a failure and the lessee fell into heavy arrears. Abdul Ghafoor used strong measures to extract the lease money and even abused Shaikh Fazil. The Shaikh managed to win over Motilal to his side and both raised a hue and cry under the palace balcony and denounced Abdul Ghafoor. A formal complaint of embezzlement of public moneys was lodged. The Vazir who was well inclined to him on account of his father's friendship with him counselled submission, and advised him to pay up half the amount. He himself undertook to pay the remaining half. Abdul Ghafoor rejected the proposal with indignation and abused the Vazir. Samsam and Saadat who were anxious to bring about his ruin, impressed upon him the idea

that the Emperor had forgiven him and was about to send him to Sindh as Governor of Thatta. This turned his head even more than before and he started for an interview with the Emperor in spite of the Vazirs' warning.

It was the custom of the Mughal Court that all those who entered the royal presence had to make obeisence before the Emperor. This formality was dispensed with in the case of Abdul Ghafoor Shah out of deference to his holy garb. He was allowed to make a salam and the Emperor returned it in ordinary language. On this day, however, the Shah dispensed with even this ordinary courtesy and was rude to the Emperor. All these reasons combined and led to the downfall of our Sindhi adventurer at the Mughal Court.

REVIEWS.

Jainism and Karnataka Culture: S. R. Sharma, M.A., Published by Secretary, Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar, pages XIX+213.

The work under review is the first volume of the Karnataka Historical Research Society Silver Jubilee Publication series and we must confess that the subject of the book is quite appropriate for making a beginning of such studies. The work is well-planned out. In the first part is surveyed the history of the first introduction and subsequent spread of Jainism in Karnataka under the different dynasties, right from the Kadambas downwards. In the second part the author has shown the influence of Jainism on the literature, art and architecture of the country and in the last part of the work the author has shown how Jainism has undergone changes in its concepts during its career in the country.

The author has dealt with his subject in the proper manner of a research student and the whole work bears marks of good scholarship, sober judgment and patient industry. Jainism has been one of the oldest religions of India and a study of its varied career in the different provinces of India, is bound to shed considerable light on many a moot point of Indian history. Such studies of the introduction and spread of Jainism (and for the matter of that of other religions also) in Gujarat, Marwar, Sind and other provinces of India are still wanting, and sooner they are taken up by competent scholars the better. We have only to add one word of caution in this respect. One has to be very careful in labelling a work of literature, art or architecture as Saivite, Vaisnavite or Jain or Bauddha, for often the distinction is very meagre, particularly in the case of literature.

The Nayakas of Tanjore: by V. Vriddhagirisan, M.A., M. Litt., L.T., Published by the University, Annamalainagar. Pages XV+197+44.

The work is published as No. 3 of the Annamalai University Historical Series. In this work the author has given a connected history of the Nayakas of Tanjore, who ruled over that region for about 150 years from c.1540 to c.1680 A.D. The author has dealt with each Nayaka ruler separately and has depicted not only the political fortunes of the country under the Nayakas, but also the development of art, architecture, literature (both Sanskrit and indegenous) under the Nayaka rulers. Thus this is not merely a political history of the Nayaka rule in Tanjore but also its cultural history in brief. The period of the Nayaka rule in Tanjore was the period when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English were trying to settle down in India and there are many occasions, in this book, when the author has discussed the relations of the Nayakas with these Europeans.

Study of the local dynasties and their achievements in the different provinces of India has received some attention in the recent days, but, as yet, there has only been a beginning in this direction. Studies of local dynasties, their local history and their inter-provincial relations are very important for the proper evaluation of Indian history as a whole; and so far as this is not done, there are bound to remain some serious gaps unfilled. We, therefore, congratulate the author on undertaking this study. The work is well documented and generally dependable. It exhibits sound scholarship, impartial judgment and cautious attitude in drawing conclusion. Altogether the work is very useful and we welcome its publication.

Mauryan Polity: V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, Published by Minerva Book Shop, Lahore, page 38.

This little pamphlet is the 3rd of such pamphlets published in the Minerva series on Government. The author is a well-known scholar and has studied the question of Mauryan Polity in all its details in his bigger work on the subject. In this pamphlet the main results are summarised and we have no hesitation in saying that the subject matter discussed in the pamphlet, the statements made and conclusions presented are authentic and dependable. Here is a subject, for which every Indian can be proud and we must say that it is presented in a readable form. The pamphlet will do real service in informing to the general public details of the marvellous achievements of ancient Indians in the science of Politics.

D. R. MANKAD.

Indus Civilization: By Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.

We have received off-prints of four of the Extension Lectures delivered by Dr. Pusalkar on Indus Civilization at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. The author intends to print his lectures in a book form. The following topics form the scheme of the Doctor's work:—Architecture; Art and Sculpture; Food; Dress, Coiffure and ornaments; toiletry and cosmetics; household articles; toys and games; weights and measures; tools and weapons; arts and crafts; funerary customs; ceramics, seals and sealings; metals and minerals; Ivory, Faience and shell objects, religion; script; authorship of the civilization, etc. It would appear from the above list that the learned doctor intends to present a comprehensive picture of the life of the people in the Indus Valley in the dim past. Such an attempt is most welcome as only a couple of books have so far been published presenting a composite picture of Indus Civilization which would interest the common reader who is averse to the perusal of huge volumes of tough matter like Sir John Marshall's three volumes on the same subject. A similar attempt was made by a member of the Sind Historical Society in 1938 and the results of his endeavour were published in the Society's Journal, Vol. V No. III under the caption "Ancient Sind." Dr. Pusalkar's attempt however promises to

be more comprehensive and would be more complete as it would be taking note of the developments since 1938. We therefore look forward to the learned doctor's endeavour to unravel the glories of this ancient land of ours.

In the off-prints before us the author has covered all the topics excepting the last three, the most important in the whole list and the most controversial.

Regarding architecture the learned doctor writes in extenso, first dealing with various areas excavated and the finds from them and then judges the architectural acumen of the inhabitants of Mohen-j-doro and other allied cities in the Indus Valley. In this rather long drawn out chapter the author also deals with water-supply, town-planning and drainage of the Indus cities. Civic amenities should have been assigned a separate chapter. In the complicated presentation of the chapter certain points have escaped the author's notice particularly the various cementing materials employed in the buildings. A discussion of the buildings of cities in the Indus valley other than Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa, seems out of place and stands detached from the rest of the chapter. It would have been better if the author had placed all ancient cites of the valley in their chronological order before discussing the various aspects of Indus civilization. There are a few slips noticeable in the chapter. Mohen-jo-daro is to the south of Larkana and not towards its north as the Doctor points out. Town-planning (on page 32) has been mistakenly used for house-planning.

The learned Doctor has done full justice to art and sculpture of the people. His delineation of the dress, and personal decoration of the inhabitants is quite commendable though it is not so interesting as it could be. Ornaments needs must have been given a more extensive treatment. While household objects, agriculture and food have received a fair treatment, games and toys lag behind, some of the toys particularly command better attention and notice. Weights and measures, spinning and textiles, weapons and tools, medicines and herbs have received their due. Trade seems to have suffered from a step-motherly treatment. Funerary customs have been described extensively. The subject of ceramics has no reason to complain at the treatment meted out to it, though the planning of the chapter needs much to be desired. In light of their importance seals and sealings have been justly treated. And lastly articles of shell etc. too have acquired a due mead of praise at the hands of the author.

On the whole the subject has been treated well. The importance of the study however mainly depends upon the chapters yet to be printed. To judge from what we have so far received it must be pointed out that Dr. Pusalkar's study of Indus Civilization is bound to prove useful to students of Ancient Indian History.

C. L. MARIWALLA.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

Journal of the University of Bombay.

[July 1943, Vol. XII (New Series), Part 1.]

1. *Origins of Civilisation in Egypt*: S. N. Chakravarti:—The author has lucidly summarised the results of the studies in various branches of Egyptology.

2. *The Surat Weaving Industry*: M. C. Munshi.

Same:—January 1944: Vol. XII (New Series), Part 4.

1. *Rachol and Raichur*: G. M. Moraes: The author refutes the view of Fr. Heras that 'Rachol is for the Portuguese nothing else but Rachol, the fort city of the peninsula of Salsette.

2. *The Near East and the Indus Valley*: P. Joseph—The author has made comparative study of pre-historic ceramic art of the Near East and the Indus Valley.

Indian Historical Quarterly:

[Vol. XIX, No. 4: December, 1943.]

1. *Vangala-desa*: D. C. Ganguly: The author has collected from Brahmanical, Buddhist, Chinese, Moslem and European sources, all the available references to the country of Vanga or Vangala.

2. *A pre-historic Tree Cult*: Nanimadhab Chaudhari:—The article traces the history of the fig-tree cult through the various stages of the Indus Valley civilisation, Rigveda etc.

3. *Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their originals and parallels*: Kalipada Mitra.

4. *The besprinkling Ceremony of the Rajasuya and its constitutional significance*: U. N. Ghoshal.

5. *Vikramaditya: President of a Republic*: R. B. Pandey: The author thinks that Vikrama of 57 B.C. was the president of a Republic.

6. *A Letter of the Council in Calcutta to Marquis de Bussy, 1784*: K. K. Datta.

Bharatiya Vidya,

[Vol. IV, Part V, May 1943.]

1. *Early Home of the Aryans*: K. M. Munshi:—The author argues in favour of Sapta-Sindhu as the early home of the Aryans.

2. *Indus Civilisation*: A. D. Pusalkar:—The author in this instalment deals with ceramics, seals, and sealings, shell, ivory, *faience* etc. found at Mohen-jo-daro.

3. *Aiksvaku dynassty* S. P. L. Narasinhaswami.

The Jain Antiquary.

(Vol. IX, No. 11; Dec., 1943.)

x. *Lord Mahavira's birth place* (in Hindi) Bhujavali Shastri—The author says that Basadha, a village in Muzaffarpur Distt. is the place where Lord Mahavira was born

2. *The Contribution of Jainism to World Culture*: A. Chakravarti:—The author discusses some of the cultural points which he thinks the different parts of the world have received from Jainism.

New Indian Antiquary.

(Vol. VI, Nos. 8 & 9; Nov.-Dec. 1943.)

1. *Some notes on the history of Indian Dietetics with special reference to the history of Jalebi*: P. K. Gode:—The author says that the dish Jalebi was known and prepared in India in C. 1450 A.D.

2. *Was the Mirat-i-Sikandari revised by the author himself?* Shaikh Chand Husain:—According to the author the Mirat-i-Sikandari was revised by the author himself and that is why there are many different readings in the Manuscripts.

SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS.

1943

The Honorary Secretaries take pleasure in submitting the following Annual Report and Statement of Audited Accounts for the year ending the 31st December, 1943.

1. The Annual General Body Meeting of the Sind Historical Society was held at the D. J. Sind Arts College, Karachi, on Thursday the 18th March, 1943 at 7-15 p.m. when Mr. H. T. Lambrick presided.

The adjourned General Body Meeting was held on Wednesday the 28th April, 1943, when Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani presided.

2. At the two meetings the following office-bearers for 1943-44 were elected:

President	Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak, J.P., F.R.G.S.
Vice-President	Mr. T. S. Thadani.
Hon. Secretary and Treasurer	Mr. N. M. Billimoria.
Hon. Jt. Secretary	Mr. C. L. Mariwala, B.A. (as Mr. Mariwala resigned) Prof. D. R. Mankad M.A. was elected in his place.
Members of the Managing Committee	Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A., PH.D., J.P. Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., PH.D. Dr. A. Duarte, M.A., D. Litt. Mr. A. P. LeMesurier, I.C.S Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S.

3. During the year under report 11 monthly meetings were held when the following papers were read. The attendance at these meetings was select but disappointing in numbers.

1.	Commercial Navigation of the Indus, 1820-1832 ...C. L. Mariwala, Esq.	10-12-42.
2.	Sind in 1809, extracts from Henry Ellis' Account ...B. D. Mirchandani, Esq. I.C.S.	25-2-43.
3.	The Lion's Last Roar... ...A. B. Advani, Esq. M.A., LL.B.	25-2-43.
4.	A Note on the Sindhi Alphabet "Zaarin Qalam"	24-5-43
5.	The most simplified Sindhi Alphabet ... ...L. A. Jagtiani Esq. B.A.	24-5-43.

6. Criminal Tribes in Sind ....N. M. Billimoria. Esq. 24-6-43.

7. Census Reports of Sind for 1931 and 1941—a comparison -...N. M. Billimoria. Esq., 29-7-43.

8. The Battles of Sind, 1843 ...H. T. Lambrick, Esq. I.C.S. 19-8 43.

9. The Battles of Sind, 1843 (Pir Ari & Shahdadpur) ...H. T. Lambrick, Esq. I.C.S. 14-9-43.

10 Alor, the ancient capital of Sind ... ...Diwan Sobhraj Nirmaldas. 21-10-43.

11. New light on the identity of Chach, the founder of the Brahman Dynasty in Sind ...Prof. D.R. Mankad, M.A. 18-11-43.

4. Six meetings of the Council of Management of the Society were held during the year under report. The Rules for the Library of the Society, framed by Dr. Gurbuxani and Mr. C. L. Mariwala were discussed and passed. They will be printed in the next issue of the Journal of the Society

5. At the end of the year 61 members were on the roll. We wish some of our influential members will try and induce some of their friends to join the Society.

6. The Sind Government has kindly given us a grant of Rs. 300. We would respectfully request that the grant be made permanent, taking into consideration the useful work the Society has been doing.

7. We had the good fortune to see in our midst at the monthly meeting held on the 18th March, 1943, the well-known archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein, as a visitor. He spoke about the work done by him at Las Bela from which place he was returning. He was made an Honorary Member of the Society. Unfortunately for India he died at Cabul in June last.

At the monthly meeting of the Society held on the 18th November, 1943, a vote of condolence was passed, all standing, at the sad death of the well-known archaeologist.

8. Mr. M. S. Shahani, M.A., (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law, Warden University Law Hall, Delhi, was appointed to attend the 6th Indian Historical Congress, to be held at Aligarh, as the delegate of our Society.

9. At the commencement of the year the Library had only 69 books. At present it has in all 102 books. Thus during the year the Library received 33 new books. Out of these 17 books were received from the Government of India on payment of freight and binding charges only. Two books were presented to the Society by Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani. Four books were

received as complimentary copies. Four other books were received for the purpose of review in the Society's Journal and the rest 6 were purchased by the Society for the Library. The Society's Library was made use of by about 10 members of the Society. It is hoped that in the future better use of the Library will be made by the members.

10. The society has great pleasure in offering their congratulations to one of its most useful members, H. T. Lambrick, Esq. I.C.S., for being made by Government a Companion of the Indian Empire. We wish him longlife and higher honours.

11. The Society has noted with pleasure the award of a silver medal by the Bharatyia Vidya Bhawan to Mr. N. M. Billimoria for his Essay on "The Panis of the Rig Veda and the script of Mohenjo Daro and Easter Islands". The Society offer their congratulations to him on this occasion.

12. The Soeiety is thankful to Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A., PH.D., Principal, D.J. Sind College for allowing the use of rooms in the College for holding our monthly meetings; and to Khan Saheb Jamsedji S. Sethna for auditing the accounts of the Society.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.

D. R. MANKAD,
Hon. Jt. Secretary.

Karachi,
12th January, 1944.

Statement of accounts of the Sind Historical Society for the year ending 31st December 1943.

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	As.	P.	EXPENDITURE.	Rs.	As.	P
Balance in Bank	239	15	6	Pay of Peons	72	0	0
Cash in hand	169	4	0	Advertising charges	6	12	0
Subscriptions	316	0	0	Postage	40	0	0
Sale of Journals	14	0	0	Stationery & Printing monthly Notices	35	0	0
Grant from the Sind Govt.	300	0	0	Purchase of Books	42	9	0
Sale of old papers	15	0	0	Printing charges of Journals	563	4	0
				Bank charges	5	0	0
				Printing of forms for Library	19	4	0
				Miscellaneous charges	7	12	0
				Balance in Bank	110	15	6
				Balance in hand	151	11	0
Grand Total	1,054	3	6	Graand Total	1,054	3	6

Examined and found correct.
JAMSHEDJI S. MEHTA,
Hon. Auditor.

12th January, 1944.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer.

Karachi, 17th February, 1944.

The Annual General Body Meeting of the Sind Historical Society was held on Thursday, the 17th February, 1944, at 7-15 p.m. at the D. J. Sind Arts College, Karachi. Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak presided.

The proceedings of the General Annual Meeting held on 18th March, 1943, and audited accounts, circulated among the members, were passed.

The following Office-Bearers were appointed for the year 1944-45:

President	Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A., PH.D., J.P.
Vice-President	Dr. A. Duarte, M.A., D. Litt.
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer ...	Mr. N. M. Billimoria.
Hon. Jt. Secretary	Prof. D. R. Mankad, M.A.
Librarian	C. L. Mariwalla, Esq. B.A.
Members of the Managing Committee	Mr. Sohrab K. H. Katrak, J.P., F.R.G.S. Mr. T. S. Thadani. Mr. H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S., C.I.E. Mr. A. P. LeMesurier, I.C.S. Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., PH.D.
Hon. Auditor	K. S. Jamsedji S. Sethna.

At the meeting of the Managing Committee of the Sind Historical Society, held on 6th April, 1944, the following Committees were formed:

Members of the Editorial Board	Dr. A. Duarte, M.A., D. Litt. Mr. A. P. LeMesurier, I.C.S. C. L. Mariwalla, Esq. B.A.
Members of the Library Committee	Dr. A. Duarte, M.A., D.Litt. C. L. Mariwalla, Esq. B.A.

N. M. BILLIMORIA,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer,
Sind Historical Society.

Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Sind Historical Society

No.	Title of the Book.	Author.
1/G-1	Sind's changing Map	...Dr. M. B. Pithawalla.
2/G-2	Extracts relating to Sind from Archaeological Reports 1892 1921	...
3/G-3	Do. do. 1921 1927	...
4/G-4	Do. do. 1927 1935	...
5/G-5	A Vocabulary of the Sindee Language	..Captain J. B. Eastwick.
6/G-6	Life of Masum (in Sindhi)	...Sayyid Ali Md. Rashidi.
7/G-7	A Short History of Sind (in Persian)	...Md. Ahsan.
8/G-8	Chach Nama	...Mirza Kalich Beg.
9/G-9	Tarikh-i-Masum (in Persian)	...Dr. U. M. Daudpota.
10/G-10	Tarikh-i-Masum (in Sindhi)	...Munshi Nandiram Merani.
11/G-11	Tarikh-i-Masum	...Capt. Mallet
12/G-12	Tarikh-i-Tahiri (in Sindhi) Abridged	...Md. Sidiq Memon.
13/G-13	Tuhfat-al-Kiram (in Persian)	...A.S. Qani.
14/G-14	A Short History of Sind	...G. E. L. Carter, I.C.S.
15/G-15	A History of Sind	...R. B. Bulchand Dayaram.
16/G-16	Scinde or the Unhappy Valley (Vol. I)	...Lt. R. F. Burton.
17/G-17	Do. (Vol. II)	...Lt. R. F. Burton.
18/G-18	Sind Revisited (Vol. I)	...Lt. R. F. Burton.
19/G-M	Do. (Vol. II)	..Lt. R. F. Burton.
20/G-20	Something about Sind	...Dayaram Gidumal.
21/G-21	Sasui and Punhu	...Sir F. Goldsmith.
22/G-22	The Indus Delta Country	...Major-Genl. M. R. Haig.
23/G-23	The Mihran of Sindh	...Major Raverty.
24/G-24	Antiquities of Sind	...H. Cousens.
25/G-25	Races and Tribes that inhabit the Valley of the Indus	...Lt. R. F. Burton.
26/G-26	Sind—A Re-interpretation	...J. Abbott.
27/G-27	Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit	...H. T. Sorley, I.C.S., D. Litt.
28/G-28	A Gift	...C. L. Mariwalla.
29/G-29	Journal Sind Historical Society Vols. I, II, III	...
30/G-30	Do. do. Vol. IV.	...
31/PT-1	Ancient Sind	...C. L. Mariwalla.
32/PT-2	Mohan-jo-daro	...Bherumal Mahirchand.
33/PT-3	A History of Sind (Ancient Period) Vol. I	...Maulvi Noor Md. Nizamani.
34/PT-4	Do. do. Vol. II	... do.
35/PT-5	Scindy Diary 1762-64	...
36/PT-6	History of the Caloras	...David Seton.
37/T-1	Memoirs of Mirza Khusru Beg. Vol. I (Note-book I)	....
38/T-2	do. Vol. II (Note-book II)	...

No.	*Title of the Book.*	*Author.*
39/T-3	Amilan-jo-Ahwal (in Sindhi)	...Bherumal Mahirchand.
40/T-4	Sind-ja-Mir (in Sindhi)	...Chandumal Gopaldas Thadhani.
41/T-5	Miani-a-ji-Jang (in Sindhi)	...Parmanand Mewaram.
42/T-6	Riyasat Khairpur (in Sindhi)	...Mirza Kalich Beg.
43/T-7	Dry Leaves from Young Egypt	...Captain J. B. Eastwick.
44/T-8	Autobiography of Lutfullah	...Captain J. B. Eastwick.
45/T-9	Crowe's Correspondence 1799	...
46/T-10	Parliamentary Papers Relating to Sind 1838—1843 A.D.	...
47/B-1	The Conquest of Scinde	...Major General W. Napier
48/B-2	The Conquest of Scinde—A Commentary	...Major J. Outram. ...
49/B-3	Scinde in the Forties	...Col. Kieth Young.
50/B-4	Parliamentary Correspondence relating to Sind 1851 A.D.	...
51/B-5	Kurrachee and Scinde 1854-56	...
52/B-6	Do. 1857	...
53/B-7	Do. 1858	...
54/E-1	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology Kern Institute-Leyden 1934	...
55/E-2	Do. 1935	...
56/E-3	Do. 1936	...
57/E-4	Do. 1937	...
58/E-5	Life of Charles Masson (1830-1841)	...
59/E-6	Mother Right in India	...Dr. Omar Rolf Baron Ehrenfels.
60/E-7	Slavery in British India	...D. R. Banaji.
61/E-8	Official writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone	...G. W. Forrest.
62/E-9	1st and 10th Battalions, 10th Baluch Regiment	...A. O. Chaldecott.
63/E-10	Some Archaeological Finds in the Idar State	...P. A. Inamdar.
64/E-11	A French Book Dealing with Political Missions in Western India.	...
65/E-12	Travels in India	...Bernier.
66/E-13	A Bibliography of Moghul India	...Sri Ram Sharma.
67/E-14	Physiographic Divisions of India, Burma and Ceylon	...Prof. M. B. Pithawalla.
68/E-15	Marvels of the Earth	...Prof. M. B. Pithawalla.
69/G-31	Wealth and Welfare of Sind	...Prof. M. B. Pithawalla.
70/T-11	Sind-ja-Mir (In Sindhi) 2nd Copy	...Chandumal Gopaldas Thadhani.
71/B-8	History of Manzilgah	...
72/E-16	Garden of Aden	... Daniel John.

No.	Title of the Book.	Author.
73/E-17	Jainism and Karnataka Culture	...Sri Ram Sharma.
74/E-18	Traces of Matriarcal Civilization among the Kolli Malaiyalis	...O. R. Baron Ehrenfels.
75/G-32	Geography and Culture with the example of Sind	...Prof. M.B. Pithawalla
76/E-19	The Nayaks of Tanjore	...V. Vriddhagirisan.
77/E-20	Indian Record Series—Vestiges of Old Madras (Vol. I)	...H. Davidson Love.
78/E-21	Do. (Vol. II	...H. Davidson Love.
79/E-22	Do. (Vol. III)	...H. Davidson Love.
80/E-23	Do. Index	...H. Davidson Love.
81/E-24	Indian Record Series—Old Fort William in Bengal (Vol. I)	...C. R. Wilson.
82/E-25	Do. (Vol. II)	...C. R. Wilson.
83/E-26	Do. Bengal in 1756-57 (Vol. I)	...S. C. Hill.
84/E-27	Do. Do. (Vol. II)	...S. C. Hill.
85/E-28	Do. Do. (Vol. III)	..S. C. Hill.
86/E-29	Do. The Diaries of Streynsham Master 1675-80 (Vol. I)	...
87/E-30	Do. (Vol. II)	...
88/E-31	Indian Text Series—An Arabic History of Gujrat (Vol. I)	...
89/E-32	Do. (Vol. II)	
90/E-33	Do. (Vol. III)	...
91/E-34	Do. Index	...
92/E-35	Do. Siksha-Samaccaya	...
93/E-36	Do. Hatim's Tales	...Stein and Grierson.
94/T-12	Personal Observations on Sind	...Captain T. Postans.
95/E-37	Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B. (Vol. I)	...Maj.-General E. Napier.
96/E-38	Do. (Vol. II)	... Do. do.
97/E-39	Historical Atlas of India	....Charles Jappen, s.j.
98/E-40	Index to the Indian Antiquary (Vol.I-L) (1872-1921)	...L. V. Astey.
99/B-9	Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Sind and the Cutchee Campaign	...General Sir William Napier.
100/B-10	Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Scinde	...Dr. James Burnes.
101/G-33	Journal Sind Historical Society (Vol. V)	
102/G-34	Journal Sind Historical Society (Vol. VI)	
103/T-12	Memoirs on Sind—1832	...Capt. W. Pottinger and Del Hoste.
104/T-13	Reports—Political, Geographical and Commercial relating to Sind, 1835-37	Sir A. Burnes & others.
105/T-14	History of Sind and A Memoir on the Indus 1820	...Capt. James McMurdo.

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.